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Karpov Briefs Newsmen on Troop Reductions

PM1612114388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech and his new initiatives in the disarmament sphere, including major unilateral steps in the sphere of the reduction of armed forces in Europe and Asia, has effectively created a quite new political context for the discussion of disarmament questions. This was mentioned 15 December during a briefing held at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center.

Speaking to journalists, V.P. Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister, pointed out that practically all foreign responses to the Soviet leader's UN speech and his meeting with the U.S. leadership have been couched in an extremely positive tone and assess these events as the latest major foreign policy success for the USSR, the political consequences of which will be long-term and significant. Measures to reduce the Soviet Armed Forces and withdraw large tank units [tankovyye soyedineniya] and offensive systems from Eastern Europe are perceived unequivocally as concrete evidence of the beginning of restructuring based on the USSR's defensive military doctrine.

The attention of correspondents was drawn to the fact that the tank divisions to be withdrawn from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary are being disbanded and the Soviet troops remaining in those countries for the time being are being regrouped and given a defensive structure. Airborne assault and river-crossing equipment, which people in Western Europe associate with the offensive capabilities of the Soviet Armed Forces, will be withdrawn.

At present, a schedule for reducing the USSR Armed Forces by 500,000 men for the period 1989-1990 is being studied, which should provide for the disbanding of the appropriate units, including those being withdrawn from the GDR, the CSSR, Hungary, and Mongolia; a corresponding reduction in compulsory service; and a determination of the categories and personnel to be discharged into the reserves. Moreover, a schedule for the reduction over the same period of 10,000 Soviet tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft, as well as a substantial reduction in the volume of conventional arms in the Asian part of the USSR are being examined.

We are also examining, the deputy minister said, the question of ensuring that all measures linked with the unilateral reduction of the USSR's Armed Forces and arms are carried out under conditions of maximum openness and glasnost, including the circulation of the requisite information regarding the timeframe for the implementation of these measures and giving the world public the chance to see for itself—by even inviting foreign observers—that all the reductions announced are in fact being implemented.

In answering journalists' questions, V.P. Karpov said military hardware, tanks in particular, will be eliminated but this must be approached from positions of expediency. For instance, tank diesel units may be used in the national economy. Talking about the economic effect of the disarmament process, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out that this year the retooling of the defense industry in connection with the elimination of the missiles under the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has saved the country's economy R300 million.

G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, briefed journalists on the state of affairs in Armenia. He announced that so far aid for the victims has arrived from 87 states.

General Lebedev Interviewed on Army Cuts

PM1912091588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Major General Yu. Lebedev, deputy chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by own correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin under the "Topical Interview" rubric: "Reduction of the Army and Defense Capability"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Markushin] Yuriy Viktorovich, the Soviet leadership's decision to carry out unilaterally a major reduction in our Army in 1989-1990, announced from the lofty rostrum of the UN General Assembly by M.S. Gorbachev, was undoubtedly a carefully gauged move. It aroused an unprecedented response in the world and has been supported by the Soviet people. However, you also hear questions. The following, in particular: Will the equilibrium between the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic bloc be maintained now? After all, we are talking about not just two or three divisions but a contingent equivalent to the Bundeswehr.

[Lebedev] The troop reduction on which we are embarking unilaterally is indeed a very substantial one. However, judging by certain statements in the West, its scale and depth have not yet been realized by everyone. I have in mind primarily the political and moral aspects of this impressive step. At the same time Soviet people should be in no doubt that this decision has been thoroughly thought out. The Soviet state's defense capability will not suffer as a result of the reduction because this is a question of a balance of forces in a qualitatively new situation; specifically, in conditions in which a defensive character is being imparted to our Armed Forces.

[Markushin] Why have we decided to reduce the Armed Forces by precisely 500,000 servicemen, 10,000 tanks, and so on?

[Lebedev] These figures were not chosen at random, of course. Much painstaking work went into them and all the positions were carefully considered. They are based on our assessment of the Army's defense capability after the reduction, that is, its ability to conduct successful defensive actions in the event of aggression. At the same time, there is another question here—our ability to safeguard in every way the people affected by this reduction. After all, of the 500,000 servicemen affected, virtually 1 in 6 is an officer. The reduction will also affect warrant officers. They must all be provided with work, housing, and so forth. Everything in this respect has been thought out. But that does not mean that great organizational measures will not be necessary. We must be ready for that.

[Markushin] Is a reduction of the military budget to be expected?

[Lebedev] The USSR advocates such a reduction. Its proposals on this score have been set out and are on the negotiating table. Unfortunately we have not received a reply from our opponents. The Soviet Union awaits that reply.

[Markushin] What reaction has NATO Headquarters given to the recent Soviet initiatives?

[Lebedev] The NATO leadership has treated them very seriously this time. In any event, no one has ventured to call them mere propaganda. That is understandable. The Soviet Union is going to remove troops from the line of contact between the two opposing groupings. These are tank formations, airborne assault formations, and river-crossing systems. NATO will have less concern about the potential ability of Soviet troops to mount surprise offensive operations, although we have never had nor could have had intentions of that kind. At the same time it cannot be said that the NATO members have changed their views to any degree. They still talk about the Warsaw Pact's "great superiority."

[Markushin] The Western press has reported possible NATO proposals to reduce each side's tanks to 10,000. What might the Soviet leadership's reaction be?

[Lebedev] The Soviet Union is always ready to examine any arms reduction proposals. M.S. Gorbachev has made that point many times. It goes without saying that the Soviet side's approach to the examination of what is proposed will be serious. We have no intention of harming our own security. The USSR's stand in this respect is firm and principled.

Unilateral Troop Reduction, NATO Reaction Viewed

PM1912164188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov "Military-Political Review": "Security Formula"]

[Text] Next week millions of Christmas trees in many countries will blaze with multicolored lights. Their festive glow will, as always, gladden children's souls and awaken new hopes in adults: hopes of success, happiness, and peaceful skies over our heads. The U.S. mass media dubbed as a "Christmas present" the new Soviet initiatives expounded by M.S. Gorbachev in his recent UN speech. For what the USSR is proposing can ensure prosperity and peace throughout our huge and, at the same time, so small common home called the planet Earth.

Mankind has entered a crucial stage in its development. What the world community will loook like in the 21st century is being decided right now. The correct choice must be made right now. But in the modern nuclear and space age the experience accumulated by mankind no longer always works. Present problems can no longer be resolved by the means and methods which were used or which seemed suitable before. Further world progress is now possible only by seeking general human accord in the movement toward a new world order. And the insistent demand of the age—to find a balance of interests within an international framework—has become a condition not only of progress but also of mankind's survival.

Reflecting on the natural laws of the modern world, the Soviet leader pointed out that the struggle of ideologies, the honest struggle of ideologies, must not be transferred to relations between states. Otherwise, mankind will simply be unable to resolve a single world problem; to arrange broad mutually advantageous and equitable cooperation among peoples; to manage rationally the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution; to transform world economic ties and protect the environment; to overcome underdevelopment and put an end to hunger, disease, illiteracy, and other mass misfortunes; or to eliminate the nuclear threat and militarism.

"If we are parts, albeit different parts, of one and the same civilization and if we understand the interdependence of the modern world, then this must increasingly be present in politics, in practical efforts to harmonize international relations," M.S. Gorbachev said, addressing members of the world community. "Perhaps the term 'restructuring' is not very suitable in this case, but I really advocate new international relations."

The situation took shape in such a way that literally a matter of hours after these words were pronounced, mankind saw for itself that new international relations are perfectly possible. Unfortunately, it did so in tragic circumstances. When the bitter news of the terrible earthquake in Armenia flew round the world, pain and compassion filled the hearts of people in various countries. Ideological and other disagreements were pushed aside, and people hastened to help people. Human solidarity, sympathy, internationalism, and all the best human feelings were manifested during these sorrowful days. And the thought occurred: Is it really only a disaster that can make people remember that they all live in the same planetary home, and are the people of all the world really incapable of overcoming disagreements and uniting to prevent a far more terrible nuclear disaster which could put an end to the history of human civilization?

The threat of a nuclear disaster is a grim reality of our age. International development and contacts have been deformed by the arms race and the militarization of thinking. And it was no coincidence that the Soviet leader's UN speech named disarmament as the chief thing without which no problems of the next century can be resolved. And we see definite grounds for optimism here. The embodiment of the Soviet program for building a nuclear-free world in real negotiating positions has already yielded material fruits. The Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is being implemented in an atmosphere of trust and businesslike efficiency. A report on the withdrawal of the last U.S. cruise missiles from Belgian territory was received this week. The missiles in the FRG which come under the terms of the treaty are being dismantled on schedule. In short, it is possible to state that a new historical reality is emerging before our eyes—a shift away from the principle of superarmament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

The Soviet leadership's decision once again to display its readiness to strengthen this healthy process not only in words but also in deeds has been announced at the United Nations. Let us recall that the USSR has adopted a decision to reduce its Armed Forces.

Over the next 2 years their complement will be reduced by 500,000 men, and the volume of conventional arms will also be reduced substantially. These reductions will be made UNILATERALLY, unconnected with talks under the mandate of the Vienna meeting.

By agreement with its Warsaw Pact allies the USSR has decided to withdraw six tank divisions from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary by 1991 and to disband them.

Landing and assault and a number of other formations and units, including landing and river-crossing ones with their armament and combat hardware, will also be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces stationed in those countries.

The Soviet troops stationed in those countries will be reduced by 50,000 men, and the armament by 5,000 tanks.

All Soviet divisions still remaining on our allies' territory are being reformed. They are being given a different structure than their present one, which, following a large-scale removal of tanks from them, is becoming unambiguously defensive.

At the same time the numbers of troop personnel and the quantity of arms in the European part of the USSR will also be reduced.

In all, the Soviet Armed Forces in this part of our country and on the territory of the USSR's European allies will be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft.

During these 2 years the grouping of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Asian part of the Soviet Union will also be reduced substantially. By agreement with the government of the Mongolian People's Republic a considerable proportion of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed there will return to the motherland.

The adoption of these decisions of fundamental importance was the result of implementing the new political thinking, which provides for security to be ensured primarily by political means. These measures fully accord with the Warsaw Pact proposals for restructuring the Armed Forces on the principle of reasonable sufficiency, in full accordance with the defensive military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states. Such measures must give a strong boost to reducing the intensity of East-West confrontation and assist the successful holding of talks.

The new Soviet steps in the disarmament sphere are of tremendous significance for the whole world, but they are particularly important for Europe—a continent where vast arms arsenals are stockpiled and where two military-political alliances are directly contiguous. Therefore, the enthusiastic welcome which West Europeans gave to the Soviet leader's UN speech comes as no surprise. "Europe Applauds Gorbachev," "Gorbachev Makes the West Respond"—under such headlines Swiss newspapers carried commentaries on M.S. Gorbachev's speech. The Soviet leader is seeking to reduce arms and armed forces and confirming this with actions. In this way, the newspaper TAGES ANZEIGER ZURICH writes, he has made one more unexpected and concrete move in the disarmament sphere, putting the United States and its NATO partners in a zugzwang position. This is not the first time the Soviet leader has forced the West to respond to new Soviet proposals. Well, to continue the chess analogy proffered by the Swiss newspaper, it only has to be stipulated that, if this game is played correctly, the result will be a win not for one side alone nor a stalemate—all will win.

But there are forces in the West which are not at all interested in such an outcome. They are clearly concerned about the popularity of the new Soviet proposals with West Europeans. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, certain Western experts have voiced alarm in connection with the fact that the Soviet leader has put the Western alliance in a complex position as regards influencing European public opinion. "Everyone within NATO is alarmed now at the scale of the Soviet reductions. It is not just a symbolic gesture, but it is not enough. It is precisely what we did not need," S. Lunn, deputy secretary general of the North Atlantic Assembly, declared.

Certain Atlantic circles dislike the security formula proposed by the Soviet Union, which provides for a balance of interests instead of a balance of forces and for reasonable sufficiency in the military sphere multiplied by mutual trust. For this formula totally demolishes the arguments of supporters of the "modernization" of NATO's nuclear weapons or of the North Atlantic bloc's "arms upgrading" by way of "compensating" for the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles that are being eliminated. This has many adherents on both this and the other side of the ocean. As the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL testifies, with the support of British Prime Minister M. Thatcher and NATO Secretary General M. Woerner (FRG) the United States is insisting on the speediest adoption of a decision by the Alliance. No later than the NATO summit meeting in London next June, an accord must be reached on new arms upgrading. Washington and London demand: "Modernization" must be a constituent part of "the general concept with regard to security and disarmament." But if you take account of the fact that the recent regular session of NATO leading organs reaffirmed the North Atlantic bloc's adherence to the strategy of flexible response and forward defense based on "a proper combination of essential and efficient nuclear and conventional forces," you can draw the conclusion that the new thinking will make headway in Atlantic circles with tremendous difficulty. All the more so as they still resort, as FRG Defense Minister R. Scholz just did at a Bundeswehr command personnel conference, to the dilapidated thesis of the "Soviet military threat" and "the East's superiority over the West."

Those NATO figures who clearly display a kind of "modernization syndrome" should heed the opinion of O. Feldmann, the disarmament expert of the Free Democratic Party faction in the FRG Bundestag. At the present time, he declared in an interview for the newspaper BADISCHE ZEITUNG, there is no need at all to adopt a decision on modernization. It would hamper the start of talks on disarmament in the nonnuclear sphere. "Precisely this has the highest priority for us Europeans, and it is here that we must force the pace, not in the sphere of modernization," Feldmann emphasized. "Now, under M. Gorbachev, the hope of achieving disarmament has become a real possibility. And it must not be torpedoed by developing unnecessary and inopportune debates about modernization."

The measures in the disarmament sphere now being taken by the Soviet Union may be regarded as a kind of advance on the upcoming talks, as a first contribution to the kitty of the "common European home." But they certainly do not mean a reduction in the security of the USSR and its allies. Despite such significant reductions in the Armed Forces, approximate parity remains. For we now view this proceeding from the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense. The joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states remain sufficiently strong militarily to render futile all attempts to put military pressure on them. As the Soviet leader authoritatively declared at the United Nations: "We will maintain the country's defense capability at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, so that no one is tempted to encroach on the security of the USSR and its allies."

U.S. Balance of Forces Report Interpreted

LD1912233688 Moscow TASS in English 2316 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The report "NATO-Warsaw Pact. Assessment of the Conventional Force Balance," which has just been drafted by the U.S. General Accounting Office, the Congressional Research Service and the Office of Technology Assessment, draws a conclusion with which one can agree: At present neither of the sides in Europe has superiority which can guarantee victory. This proves once again the far-fetchedness of the myth about the "military threat from the East" and about the "aggressive" nature of deploying the troops of socialist countries on the European Continent.

At the same time the discrepancy of the recommendations which the authors of the report give to the NATO military political leadership catches attention. They proceed from the obviously erroneous interpretation of the Soviet military doctrine. For example, it is asserted that by Soviet estimates the lessening of the density of troops on the European theater of combat operations will give considerable advantage to the attacking side and make much easy for it to attack and manoeuver.

An impression is created that the authors of the report never heard about the Warsaw Treaty proposal to make reciprocal reductions of the armed forces and armaments to a limit when neither of the sides will have physical capability of launching an attack, bringing the structure of the Armed Forces of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty, their armaments and deployment in line with the defensive tasks, exercising strict control over the reductions of armed forces and armaments as well as over the activity of the remaining troops. What kind of advantage to the attacking side as a result of such reductions can one speak about?

The report acknowledges that the strengthening of defense can be reached through reductions of some offensive weapons. But what recommendations on reducing offensive weapons do the authors of the report give? They think that it will be useful to tackle the problem of creating a balance in the field of tanks and antitank weapons but advise extreme caution in dealing with aviation because the North Atlantic Alliance has preponderance in planes. Thus the report's recommendations were made in the spirit which has been long outdated. Clearly they pursue the goal of attaining unilateral security and maybe superiority of NATO.

What are the reasons behind the unrealistic recommendations of the authors of this and similar reports and studies? The researchers themselves cite as one of the main reasons which hamper NATO from making its own proposals on disarmament the alleged absence of a doctrine or operational concept for developing all proposals. However, in my view, the reason is different. They have not fully grasped the new realities of our time: interdependence and integrity of the world, the emergence of limits for the possibilities of using military force, close dependence of the security of a country on the security of other countries and nations.

Nazarkin Comments on Chemical Weapons Talks

LD1812112088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev report from Geneva]

[Text] [Dmitriyev] The latest round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on banning chemical weapons has been going on here since 29 November. At the same time multilateral talks have been taking place within the framework of the special chemical weapons committee, which includes representatives of virtually all the 40 countries participating in the disarmament conference. The experts now have reached a break in their work. We asked Yuriy Konstantinovich Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation, to talk about the results of this latest round of consultations and multilateral talks.

[Nazarkin] We have continued the work on drawing up a procedure for inspection on request and also on fixing those provisions in the convention that will regulate what is known as permitted production, that is the production of chemicals, even though highly toxic, that currently are needed and will continue to be needed after the convention is concluded for medical, research, and finally even for protective purposes. Naturally, the production of such substances has to be carried out under effective international monitoring. The question arises as to whether this will mean that certain data are divulged—for instance, data representing commercial secrets. All the participants in the talks are concerned about this. Therefore, during this round, too, their attention was directed toward how to preserve the confidentiality of such information. Apart from that, there was also a discussion on insuring that there is no prejudice to the security of the states participating in the convention, while all chemical weapons stocks and enterprises for producing them are being scrapped.

To sum up, a very great deal of work has been done on drawing up the convention over the past year. First, virtually all the political knots affecting the future convention have been untied. It is one thing, however, to adopt decisions in principle, and quite another to set them down in the form of a treaty. However, in this area too, some fairly substantial work has been done. One could say that there are highly favorable premises for 1989 to become the truly crucial year in preparing and concluding the convention.

NATO's Woerner 'Distorts' Soviet Security Policy

PM1312125188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

["Rejoinder" by Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS observer for military questions: "New Thinking and Old Illusions"]

[Text] The Soviet Union has long been used to the top NATO leadership trying to "mobilize" the Western public to support its programs for creating new weapons by constantly inventing all manner of fables about our country and its foreign and military policy. But I believe anyone would be amazed by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner's recent lecture at the London International Institute for Strategic Studies.

We should not be content with the present situation, thanks to which Europe has lived in peace for 4 decades, but must "create the dynamics that will lead to the establishment of a new political order in Europe." This is how Woerner formulated the main aim, urging the West to develop a strategy capable of linking a change of relationships within NATO to the restructuring of relations with the Soviet Union. There is no question that one can agree with this. Indeed, all Europe, and the world as a whole, now needs new thinking and new approaches to strengthening security. But is Woerner actually proposing anything new?

It appears that, in his opinion, a "unique opportunity to create a new security system" lies in "harnessing the process of dynamic change to the creation of stability in the military sphere," which will definitely "include a nuclear component!" It is very important, Woerner said, to rid Western public opinion of the "notion" that nuclear weapons do not preserve peace but threaten it. The "rapprochement of Western and Eastern doctrines" regarding the principles of "nuclear deterrence" must supposedly give impetus to the creation of a "new security system" and progress toward a "new world order." In other words, everything "new" about his strategic ideas comes down to the fact that the East must supposedly be persuaded to reconcile itself to the perpetual existence of nuclear weapons.

No, not without reason did the London newspaper THE INDEPENDENT point out in a commentary on Woerner's speech that his report contained "few new, fresh ideas." At the same time, NATO countries have ignored the most sensational statement made by its secretary general, evidently considering it frivolous and not worthy of attention.

But, to all appearances, sensationalism was the very thing Woerner was counting on when he announced that, after many years of calling for nuclear disarmament, the Soviet Union is, according to him, "close" to accepting the NATO doctrine of stability in the military sphere, which is based on a combination of nuclear and conventional weapons. There really is no limit to the "inventiveness" of those who are doing their utmost to preserve the "nuclear jinn!"

It is amazing, the "extraordinary ease" with which Woerner distorts things to the point of turning them "completely upside down" when interpreting the current policy of the Soviet Union, which is waging a firm, consistent struggle to create a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. Surely the NATO secretary general cannot be unaware of the Soviet program to totally eliminate nuclear weapons by the year 2000 or of the numerous statements made by the Soviet political and military leadership about how, unlike the United States and other NATO countries, the Soviet Union is prepared to renounce its status as a nuclear power, build its armed forces without reliance on nuclear weapons, and reorganize its forces on nonnuclear principles? On the condition, of course, that this path is also taken by other nuclear powers and they strictly observe and consider the interests of mutual security.

The Soviet Union works on the basis that weapons such as nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons must be completely eliminated and excluded from any forms of reasonable, or defensive, sufficiency in the building of armed forces. The Soviet Union does, of course, realize that one of the main aims—the total elimination of all types of mass destruction weapons—obviously cannot be achieved immediately. Evidently, mankind will have to work toward a rejection of nuclear weapons by making phased reductions and carefully checking every step to ensure that equilibrium, strategic stability, and mutual security are preserved at all stages.

The principle of defensive sufficiency must extend to all elements of military potential. A total rejection of nuclear weapons is hardly a realistic proposition without accepting the concept of a defensive strategy and the principle of reasonable sufficiency for general purpose forces. And in all these spheres—nuclear weapons, conventional weapons, and armed forces—the stand taken by the Soviet Union and its allies is formulated so clearly and precisely that there is no room for the illusions which Manfred Woerner is trying to instill in the Western public.

Warsaw Pact Ministers Discuss Vienna Talks

LD1612134488 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest December 16 TASS—Warsaw Treaty deputy foreign ministers held a meeting here today to discuss the state of affairs at the Vienna follow-up meeting on security and cooperation in Europe.

In the discussion held in a business-like and friendly atmosphere they reaffirmed the allied countries' readiness to facilitate in all ways the Vienna meeting's completion in the near future with weighty positive results.

Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboymov took part in the meeting from the Soviet side.

Zhivkov Receives Bloc Defense Ministers

PM1912100788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Report on Results of Latest Session of Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee"]

[Text] Sofia, 17 Dec—Today, T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, received participants in the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee session, which has taken place here.

Those who took part in the conversation were briefed on the problems which are currently being tackled by the BCP and the entire Bulgarian people and on the results of the BCP Central Committee plenum which ended a few days ago. The Bulgarian leader declared that the problems discussed at the committee's session are of great significance for implementation of the ideas of the new political thinking and restructuring in the fraternal socialist countries. He stressed that M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations is of tremendous significance, especially his proposals concerning disarmament questions. Bulgaria fully supports these sizable initiatives which have met with a great response throughout the world. Disarmament is a two-way process. Therefore, Warsaw Pact member states expect the implementation of the measures announced by the Soviet leader to be accompanied by a comparable response from the West, T. Zhivkov noted.

Voronin Assesses All-Union Wholesalers Fair

PM1512124388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by L. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab: "Transfer Ruble Festival"; first paragraph is SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] Our country's first all-union fair for wholesalers who trade in production equipment for transfer rubles ended recently at the "Sokolniki" exhibition complex. More than 2,000 Soviet enterprises and organizers and 30 foreign firms of CEMA countries were invited as vendors and buyers. This essentially laid the foundation for the development of an important new area in the evolution of wholesale trade in the country. It also made it possible to simulate the conditions of the CEMA countries' mutual involvement in national wholesale trade in the means of production. L. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab, talks about the results of the fair.

As is known, Soviet enterprises and organizations supplying CEMA countries with goods or providing them with various types of services are already establishing currency funds in transfer rubles. But how to use them—this is the problem they have encountered.

So the the essential point of the development of wholesale trade for transfer rubles is to enable enterprises to obtain all they need using the currency they have earned. And, on the other hand, to interest them in increasing exports in order to earn more currency. What is extremely important is that enterprises, associations, and sector and republic management bodies are then able to solve their problems mainly on the basis of their own resources. They used to use state currency resources to do this! It is clear also that wholesale trade for transfer rubles creates additional incentives to constantly update and widen the range of products and make them more comparable technically with the best in the world. Naturally, this should expand trade with the CEMA countries and create conditions for the formation of a combined socialist market on that basis.

In what way? I will explain. Mutual involvement in national wholesale trade will enable economic components in fraternal countries to choose suppliers and consumers irrespective of what country they come from.

It can confidently be said the formation of mutual wholesale trade will be aided by the improvement of economic management in the community countries. Specifically through a combination of centralized planned leadership methods and the economic freedom of socialist enterprises. Certainly, the development of wholesale trade between nations at the level of economic components will develop in tandem with the existing system of mutual supplies of products, which are determined at interstate level, although economic accountability interests of the sides will increasingly be decided independently.

I will not say it is a simple matter. In fact, the development of mutual wholesale trade also requires the improvement of the present integration mechanism. First of all, enterprises must have the right to set contract prices. And when settling accounts it would be expedient to use not only transfer rubles, but national currencies too. The use of national currencies in wholesale trade will create a real demand for them. And this, in turn, will engage the market mechanism for establishing their rates, which, together with the adoption of other measures in the currency and financial sphere, will bring the solution of the problem of convertibility nearer.

The fair in Sokolniki was also the first step on the path of creating a qualitatively new mechanism of economic collaboration both between Soviet enterprises and with partners from the fraternal countries. It was organized by the USSR Gossnab "Vneshpromtekhobmen" All-Union Foreign Trade Association. It functions as an economically accountable intermediary in wholesale trade for transfer rubles. In order to prepare for the fair, resources had to be mustered to cover the existing funds in transfer rubles of enterprises, consumers and potential Soviet suppliers had to be identified, and collaboration with foreign trade organizations of CEMA countries had to be arranged. A multitude of organizational matters had to be resolved as well.

"Vneshpromtekhobmen" showed products worth R1.2 billion at the fair. Trucks and buses, highway construction and garage equipment, metal-cutting machine tools and forging and pressing equipment, lift trucks and computer equipment, timber-processing equipment, and communications facilities were offered for sale.

Products manufactured in excess of state order targets were on sale and representatives of more than 40 Soviet industrial enterprises went to the fair. They included the "Krasnyy Proletariy" machine building association, the Minsk computer prouction association, the Bryansk truck plant, and the "Rotor" production associations.

Many foreign trade organizations and firms from the CEMA countries participated in the work of the fair. The firms "Balkankarimpoeks," "Mashinoeksport," and "Intransmash" from Bulgaria; "Videoton" and "Mogyurt" [name as transliterated] from Hungary, more than 10 Polish foreign trade organizations, and firms from Cuba, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia came, offering products for sale to Soviet enterprises for transfer rubles. Partners from the fraternal countries offered for sale both means of production and consumer goods.

At the fair Soviet buyers sold products worth R650 million. "Vneshpromtekhobmen" received orders worth a further R370 million for future sales. The greatest demand was for lathes and milling machines, timber-processing equipment, trucks and buses, and personal computers.

Contracts worth R160.6 million, including exports totaling R61 million and imports totaling R99.6 million, were signed with foreign trade organizations.

At the same time, when talking about the fair, one should mention not only the quantity and volume of contracts concluded at it. In the course of numerous meetings it was repeatedly stressed that its main outcome was the establishment of direct contacts between Soviet enterprises and organizations from CEMA countries. Here is what A. Faleczkowski, representative of the Gdansk firm "Navimor" [name as transliterated], said:

"After 15 years of trade with the USSR it is the first time we have met with our Soviet purchasers and finally gotten to know them. Direct links have been established which no departments will be able to break...."

Hitherto, this Polish firm has bought metal powders for the reconditioning of worn parts from Austrian and FRG firms. At the fair it found Soviet manufactruers of the product—the "Tulachermet" science and production association.

A typical feature of the fair was the participants' lively interest in what was going on and their vigorous business activity. The use of contract prices provided interesting material for analysis. For example, for some types of construction equipment purchasers were offering a price three or four times bigger than the wholesale price. At the same time, representatives of the "Krasnyy Proletariy" association, which had originally asked R320,000 for each of its flexible production modules, was forced to lower it to the wholesale price—R82,000.

I would also like to mention the following fact. The fair organizers and the Foreign Economic Bank personnel who helped them were very surprised at the diversity of methods of arranging payment. For example, enterprises that did not have transfer rubles were selling their products to Soviet purchasers and then using the foreign currency thus obtained to buy the goods they needed from "Vneshpromtekhobmen" or, through it, from a foreign participant. Some deals with firms form CEMA countries were conducted using national currencies. For instance, Bulgarian exporters agreed to accept Soviet rubles as payment for ultrashortwave radio stations. Some Polish firms were also prepared to sell products for Soviet rubles, but the lack of the relevant interbank agreement between our countries did not allow them to do so.

The results of the fair will be methodically analyzed so that future fairs—and there is no doubt that they are necessary—will be better organized and more effective. There is some sense in organizing fairs, as experience is accumulated, in different regions of the country and also by sector—machine building, motor vehicle equipment, and so on. It is advisable to enlist the assistance of USSR Gossnab territorial bodies, particularly the commercial centers set up in them, in organizing and holding fairs.

Life is bound to throw up new ways of conducting mutual wholesale trade and improving the cooperation mechanism. It is important not to lose time.

CEMA Agro-Industrial Panel Meets in Moscow

1989-1990 Plan Approved

*PM1912101988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "CEMA Committee Session"]

[Text] The second session of the CEMA committee for cooperation in the agro-industrial complex sphere (Komagroprom) was held in Moscow 13-14 December 1988. The session was attended by representatives of the CEMA countries: Bulgaria, Hungary, the SRV, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia.

A Yugoslav representative attended the session in line with the agreement between CEMA and the SFRY Government on SFRY participation in the work of CEMA bodies.

The committee focused attention on the implementation of the decisions of the CEMA countries' economic summit conference, the comprehensive program for CEMA countries' scientific and technical progress through the year 2000, and the collective overview of the international socialist division of labor.

Considering the importance of gearing economic, scientific, and technical cooperation to the improvement of food supplies, the committee adopted a decision to elaborate in 1989 specific programs for cooperation in the production of basic types of agro-industrial complex products to meet the needs of CEMA countries, while providing the requisite material, technical, financial, and economic conditions.

On the basis of the decisions of the 43d (extraordinary) and 44th sittings of the CEMA session, the Komagroprom considered a number of questions covering new organizational forms for multilateral cooperation.

The committee approved proposals on updating and developing the comprehensive program for CEMA countries' scientific and technical progress through the year 2000 in priority areas in the sphere of agriculture and the food industry.

A plan for the commission's work in 1989-1990 was approved.

Murakhovskiy Meets Officials

*PM1512152988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] On 14 December V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, received the heads of the CEMA and SRFY delegations participating in the latest session of the CEMA committee on cooperation in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex.

During the conversation the main attention was devoted to the fulfillment of the decisions of the CEMA countries' economic summit conference and the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress through the year 2000, and the creation by interested countries of an international center for plant genetic resources, an international information system for a livestock farming gene bank, centers in the sphere of agricultural crop and livestock biotechnology, a rice institute, and an association to introduce agricultural electrification systems.

Meeting Ends 14 Dec

*LD1512122388 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT
15 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 15 TASS—The session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) committee for agro-industrial cooperation ended here on Wednesday. It was attended by representatives of CMEA member states—Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia—as well as by a representative of Yugoslavia.

The committee devoted main attention reviewing the implementation of the decisions of the CMEA economic summit, the comprehensive programme for scientific and technological progress of CMEA member states in the period ending in the year 2000, and a collective concept of international socialist division of labour.

A procedure for the publication of an international agro-industrial journal of the committee was endorsed at the session which was held in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere and in the spirit of complete mutual understanding.

Budapest CEMA Services Sector Session Ends

*LD1712133588 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0433 GMT 17 Dec 88*

[Text] Budapest, 17 Dec (TASS)—A routine session of CEMA experts on matters related to developing the services sector has ended here. Representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia took part in the session. During the session, the results of implementing the program of scientific-technical cooperation for 1988 were examined, and the main tasks of interaction in the services sector, in light of the comprehensive program of scientific-technical progress by the CEMA member countries up to the year 2000, were defined. The participants in the session also elaborated measures directed at renewing interaction and enhancing its effectiveness. Particular attention was paid to matters of jointly training specialists for work in the sphere of social services.

'Roundtable' on Gorbachev UN Speech, Responses

LD1812233288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 18 Dec 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Academician Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations; Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, political observer; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] [Levin] Hello, esteemed comrades. Today, we want to return to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations, not only because of last week's tragic events in Armenia—the horrifying earthquake—pushed all other events into the background to some extent, but also because what is now taking place is not just a perusal of what Comrade Gorbachev said at the United Nations, but also a realization of its significance.

We all—or at least many of us, I am sure—have seen this on television and noted the reaction of those in the hall. And it seemed to me, for example, that the applause from U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was not merely diplomatic courtesy. I thought his was a typical reaction. One of today's panel participants, Nikolay Vladimirovich, was in the audience when the speech was delivered. Perhaps you can tell us whether this impression, a personal impression of mine, corresponds to the general atmosphere, or whether the atmosphere was even greater.

[Shishlin] Viktor Nikolayevich, I did not see U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz applauding, so you saw more than I did. I was concentrating on the speech. Certainly, the reaction in the hall was, of course, very warm and cordial, but that probably was not the most important thing. I think that as we meet here today, it is very striking that in the 1st days after Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech, there was very careful, detailed, and thorough comment on the practical decisions made by the soviet leadership in various areas of its international activity. Whereas now—and this is gratifying—it is the first part of his speech that is being more and more closely read and analyzed. This is the philosophical part, setting out the concept of the new thinking and presenting, in its dynamics, this new political thinking which really opens completely new vistas for international politics and for the demilitarization of international relations and their humanization, if you like, for bringing them into some sort of harmony. This is indeed a truly revolutionary concept, and I think it represents a qualitative breakthrough in the philosophical awareness of modern realities.

I was thinking when we were preparing for this meeting, this conversation, that we really have covered an immense distance in the sense of spiritual and intellectual development during these years between Mikhail Sergeyevich's first meeting with President Reagan on the shores of Lake Geneva and this meeting and speech in New York. Yevgeniy Maksimovich and I well remember Geneva and that whole atmosphere which existed there. Now, as to the fifth meeting, which is not described as a summit, it has, of course, been marked by elements of mutual understanding and elements of trust, as well as the ability to listen to each other and, moreover, to understand each other—not on everything, of course. And here the decisive role has been played not by words, but by deeds and actions and the ideas put forward in this latest speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich at the United Nations.

[Primakov] I would like to pick up this particular theme and say something about it: words and actions. You know, when the Soviet Union previously put forward the new political thinking and tried to introduce it into the fabric of international relations, our opponents in the West often said to us: Very well, you say that you are now restructuring your Army and basing it on the doctrine of rational sufficiency; in other words, that you're taking a purely defensive option and carrying out your military construction under that defensive option; that is what you are saying. But our opponents—of whom we have many, and there are some downright enemies among them—fear the fact that public opinion is now turning toward us. They also fear the collapse of the old stereotypes; for example, the Soviet Union depicted as a brown bear poised to swallow the whole world or envelop and draw it to its mighty chest, and so forth. Well now, at the present time, there are quite a few such people who would like to preserve that image of the Soviet Union. And it is these people who have used these arguments against us: What have you actually done, and how are you going to prove it? And now that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has not just presented his philosopical views—though I agree with Nikolay Vladimirovich that that is of the greatest importance—but has backed up those philosophical views with specific proposals for unilateral reduction—unilateral reduction, I want to emphasize that—this would have been the time for the chairman of the armaments committee of the U.S. congressional House of Representatives to say that Gorbachev has put arguments on the table, and that it will now be difficult to say anything against them.

[Levin] You know, Yevgeniy Maksimovich, it is difficult, but they are trying to just the same.

[Primakov] Well, they will always try.

[Shishlin] I recently, just the other day, saw an amusing cartoon in a U.S. newspaper. It was a fairly benevolent caricature, so I will allow myself to describe it. You have mentioned the image of the bear towering over the whole world. Well, the cartoon showed a large truck marked: Gorbachev's Circus. Mikhail Sergeyevich is bent over the engine. One of the circus staff comes up to him and says: The bear has escaped!. [laughter]

[Levin] All the same though, you know, I want to say that it is scarcely desirable to quote all those who are trying to cast a shadow over our policy. These are the stereotypes of the past with which we are familiar. There was an article in THE WASHINGTON POST which I think gives one some idea of the way of thinking of those who are obviously unwilling to accept the new political thinking or adequately perceive the actions of the Soviet Union. THE WASHINGTON POST wrote the following: There was a moment last Wednesday when it seemed the throng of Euro-sages and global strategists faced the prospect of losing their livelihood. The Soviet leader proposed to start reducing the very threat that had been the subject of discussion at thousands of conferences and written about in thousands of reports. How can we discuss the topic of where NATO is going if the potential enemy announces that he is withdrawing his troops?

Fortunately, it is the sages who have the last word, according to THE WASHINGTON POST. In the middle of the day, someone from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace very conveniently expressed the supposition that in fact Gorbachev's speech was aimed at disarming and dividing NATO.

[Primakov] I have read what he said. One sentence was very interesting: He said that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was putting Soviet foreign policy on a profitable footing. And that is indeed so, because really, why spend more than necessary when you can ensure your defensive capability far more reliably by political means—having, of course, the military means to ward off an attack if necessary. But those military means must be restricted to purely defensive functions. Why be involved in many situations of conflict when there is no possibility of this? In other words, we are now indeed putting our foreign policy on a profitable footing. And this orientation toward a profitable footing is at the same time an appeal to the moral conduct in foreign political affairs.

I would say that if we try to give some sort of assessment of the influence of that speech on international life, there are several points I would make. The first, of course, is the influence on public opinion. This means that public opinion is turning still more in our direction. It means a still greater neutralization of all the negative phenomena—from our point of view—of public opinion and so on. This is of the utmost importance, the utmost importance. The second point, and this goes without saying, is the specific proposals, which must be laid on the analysts' table, which must evoke a reaction and a response, and which must generally initiate a chain of negotiation. That is the second point. And the third, I would say, is this. Give proper thought to one thing; I am speaking now to our listeners. In his speech, the Soviet leader did not deviate one inch from his principled position as to our way of seeing the world. On the one hand it implies constructiveness; it is the ability to compromise; the unfailing pursuit of a flexible line aimed at ensuring the universal fitness of mankind to survive, the existence of mankind, the creation of the best conditions for its progress. And on the other hand it means that we do not yield an inch on the principled appraisal of the actions and moves of our opponents.

Take as an example Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement condemning the fact that Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO, Palestine Liberation Organization, was not given a visa by the U.S. Administration and was unable to take part in the UN General Assembly session. That was an absolutely clear criticism, an absolutely clear rejection of that position. And if the United States is now beginning talks with Yasir 'Arafat and the PLO, it seems to me that this has been dictated to some extent by our stand, dictated by the fact that our stand is universally supported in this respect. And the more often we, as it were—both us and them—take our stand in the light of public opinion, in the light of the actions of our opponents, of those who are supported by public opinion, the more we will move toward a civilized method of conducting international affairs.

[Shishlin] I agree with you, Yevgeniy Maksimovich, above all, in particular regarding public opinion and its attitude. Opinion polls have already been conducted in the United States, since Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech and his stay in New York, on this fundamental issue: What do Americans think? Are radical changes going on in the Soviet Union or something cosmetic? The overwhelming majority of those questioned believe that radical changes are going on. Now, as far as reactions to the speech are concerned—not in the everyday sense of that word, but truly serious, analytical reactions—I want to cite an example from my own practical experience. Just a few days ago, I participated in a program organized by the U.S. television company ABC, and my partner in the discussion there was Galvin. He is the commander of the NATO Armed Forces in Europe. I must say that Galvin spoke extremely approvingly of the ideas and practical proposals which were expressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich from the rostrum of the United Nations. And believe it or not, Yevgeniy Maksimovich and Viktor Nikolayevich, Jeane Kirkpatrick, the former U.S. representative to the UN Security Council and, more precisely to the United Nations, and Senator Moynihan took part in one program there—there in the United States.

Both Kirkpatrick and Moynihan have always been regarded as people of right-wing, ultra-conservative opinions, and it must be said that even ultra-right-wingers are changing. And you know, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech is being read and interpreted as one which is, indeed, deeply innovative—and it is, too. It is truly a breakthrough to some sort of completely new level of interpreting reality, approaching reality, and reading that reality in the name of the future, in the name of a truly reliable future for us, for our close and distant neighbors, and for the whole world community.

[Levin] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, you said that in the West they speak about a profitable foreign policy, and I feel tht it is probably not superfluous to remind our comrades that national security is formed from a whole range of factors, of which defence capability is a very important one, but not the only one. And a country's prestige—its political prestige—is an extremely important, extremely weighty thing, and we...

[Primakov, interrupting] You are absolutely right. And I even want to cite this possibly unexpected example in favor of that. The imperialist powers, the imperialist forces, did not manage to suffocate the Soviet Union after the Great October Socialist Revolution, although there were such attempts—as we all know—a number of them. But they did not manage it, and not because we were so strong in the military department. Of course, imperialism, which surrounded us on all sides, and, of course, the internal counterrevolution, which was able to join with it, were much stronger, even incomparably stronger, on the military plane. But at the same time, it did not work. Why did it not work out? Sympathies were on our side. The working class, the working people, were active in many countries, and they did not allow their governments to really get going.

[Shishlin] Incidentally, it is characteristic that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech spoke not only of official diplomacy—its services to what is happening are undoubted—but also of popular diplomacy, which has also made its perceptible, real contribution to this turnabout for the better.

[Primakov] Of course, of course.

[Levin] And here is an example. It was not coincidental that I mentioned Armenia—that is truly subject number one for all of us now. But the U.S. television company ABC, talking about the aid which Americans are giving to the victims of the earthquake, has broadcast these words: Each time a U.S. plane with aid takes off for the Soviet Union, history is made; in a country where the bureaucratic system, secrecy, and military paranoia were for a long time a way of life, what is happening now in the regions afflicted by the earthquake is a striking change. We do not feel any barriers, a U.S. pilot says. It is a completely different situation from before, with a healthy atmosphere which says that the period of complexes in the Soviet Union has passed, not only at the level of dealings with the outside world, but with regard to becoming a part of that outside world. Of course, there are some assessments there with which one can, and probably must, argue. But the fact that the world has, indeed, responded so widely is unprecedented. And it has responded, not least because we are appearing in our true form, in our genuine form, without the sediment of earlier years, which deformed both our society and our image.

[Primakov] I agree with you, but all the same, I would like to appeal to you and our listeners to see a certain chain, you understand. Of course, we had deformations, and, of course, we have changed. But the point is that one cannot deny the existence of forces hostile to us in the West—one cannot deny it—truly hostile in the ideological sphere, and so on. But now they are unable to act as they did before, precisely because public opinion is changing in our favor and is changing, moreover, in a most radical manner. That is what it is about. Therefore, even those who are inclined against us cannot proceed as they did, say, 5 years, 10 years, or 20 years ago, either.

[Shishlin] Yes, and incidentally, as a consequence of that phenomenon—the fact that it is not only we who are changing, but also the actions of Western governments, and the actions of Western politicians—and although Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke cautiously about the restructuring of international relations, this process has begun and it is moving. Moreover, it is moving not only on one side, not only on the side of the socialist world, but it is moving on the West's side too. And I think that it is probably worth paying attention to the fact that the Soviet policy which has now been presented at the United Nations is a policy directed at many areas, not just at the Soviet Union and the United States, but Europe, Asia, and the Pacific region...

[Primakov, interrupting] China.

[Shishlin, continuing]...China, the developing world. And on all these points, very interesting approaches were specifically declared in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech. And several of those proposals, as we have already said, absolutely specifically and absolutely practically [as heard]...

[Primakov, interrupting] To take Afghanistan.

[Shishlin] Yes, about which incidentally, an undeservedly small amount is being said. Yes, he made very major, very interesting proposals.

[Primakov] That is what I think too. Moreover, after all, what are the proposals? They are most radical proposals: to cease fire in Afghanistan from 1 January and to prepare for a conference on the neutralization of Afghanistan, while at the same time, stop arms supplies on both sides.

[Shishlin] On both sides.

[Primakov] On both sides. And it is precisely that which creates real conditions for moving forward.

[Shishlin] Yes, and let us add, to bring in UN forces to ensure that violations of a possible truce, let us say, are not committed.

[Primakov] I would pay attention to two points in this connection: first, to Cordovez' reaction. Cordovez is the deputy secretary general of the United Nations who is directly involved in the settlement in Afghanistan and even around Afghanistan. The fact that it was possible to attain—to reach—agreement in Geneva was, to some degree, due to his immense contribution. He assessed Mikhail Sergeyevich's proposals as monumental; he rated them very highly indeed. And the second point to which I should like to pay attention is as follows. You see, the Americans—I too happened, somehow, to take part in the discussion together with Nikolay Vladimirovich—the Americans, at the start, tied the end of their assistance to those who oppose the government in Kabul—we call them the counterrevolutionary forces—to the beginning of a withdrawal of our forces from Afghanistan, but then they changed that linkage [preceding word in English] or tie. They changed it and said: We will stop, and you must stop too. We fought against that, because it was a deviation from the previous position. But the Americans stuck to their view, and we started withdrawing our forces anyway. It was perfectly justified from any point of view, both the international and internal viewpoints, and for the settlement of the situation, and so on. But at the same time, the last American arguments have now been wiped away. Let them put an end to their assistance now, from 1 January, if they are capable of it.

[Shishlin] And, of course, of great interest is the stance announced by Mikhail Sergeyevich with regard to other key problems in international affairs—the problem of safeguarding human rights, for instance. How has this been done? First and foremost we are concerned with ensuring that human rights are safeguarded in our country, and it is this very concern about safeguarding human rights in our own country that allows us to put forward high international criteria to ensure that this problem is tackled everywhere, (?in every country).

[Primakov, speaking simultaneously] Quite right.

[Shishlin] This is a very vigorous stance, a very vigorous stance, and a moral stance.

[Levin] I noticed that a great many newspapers highly appraised the intention set forth by Mikhail Sergeyevich to expand the Soviet Union's participation in mechanisms for monitoring human rights under the United Nations and within the framework of the all-European process. And when our country states that the jurisdiction of the World Court at The Hague relating to the interpretation and application of agreements in the sphere of human rights should be binding for all states, this is a very weighty statement that indicates that we are embarking very actively on the path of resolving the problems facing our country and we are also obviously bearing in mind that many of our critics in the past years, who continue to criticize us—and we will probably never agree on all issues—are not showing proper regard for the authority of the World Court at The Hague.

[Primakov] You know, to put it bluntly, before saying that raising the matter of human rights with us interferes in our internal affairs; we would like to tell them to put their own house in order! Of course, this is an untenable position. Now let me put it in a different way. Yes, let us tackle these problems on a mutual basis. You have your problems and we have our problems. We are tackling our problems, and please tackle yours. And when we put the matter like this we are supported; we are supported by the broad masses.

[Shishlin] I have just caught myself thinking: How did this peace manifesto—if one is to use fine words—ever come into being? I think that it could only have come into being given the broad vision of the world—all the world's problems—which is characteristic today of Soviet foreign policy and the Soviet leadership's approach to world problems. And this emphasis on the priority of interests that are common to all mankind, on the need for large, medium-sized, and small states to take part in tackling all issues, international issues, and on the fact that a reliable, secure world in itself can only be the fruit of the common efforts of the international community—well, it seems to me that this proposition is precious. It is the key to ensuring that the problems facing mankind today are tackled step by step and successfully. And in this context, I think it is essential to say that this speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the concept expounded in this speech are of course simply lifegiving for such an international establishment as the United Nations. The United Nations was for decades an arena for the cold war. At last it is becoming the field for really constructive cooperation.

[Levin] And I think that we can say that this speech is giving impetus beyond the limits of the United Nations in broad public circles. We already mentioned public reaction. Now I will cite two specific examples. Otto Schily, one of the prominent representatives of the West German Green Party, has proposed that the FRG Government take measures that correspond to our unilateral disarmament steps. He said the FRG would lose nothing if it disbands one aircraft squadron of fighter-bombers. Representatives of two research centers in the United States, the Institute for the Study of Security Issues and the Institute of Peace and International Security, have come forward; they also suggested that the United States should carry out reductions adequate to the Soviet Union's cuts.

[Shishlin] Viktor Nikolayevich, what happened in Brussels at the meeting of NATO foreign ministers? You know that criticism has already appeared in our press of the documents adopted there. It seems to me that to a certain extent this criticism is hasty, because in these December documents of NATO, there is much of what Moscow has been talking about over recent months and years. And essentially the principle of rational sufficiency, the defensive nature of military doctrines, is starting to be recognized. Maybe these are unspecific, raw stances as yet, but these are stances which already meet halfway the stance declared by the Soviet Union from the UN rostrum. The world is changing...

[Levin, interrupting] The fact that the world is changing...

[Shishlin, interrupting] ...and relations are changing, and this is a fundamental factor of course.

[Levin] And this is borne out by the fact that the Americans have begun talks with the PLO. Yevgeniy Maksimovich, you have mentioned this fact, but in my view, this really is a very serious turning point. It shows that the Americans have recognized their mistake.

[Primakov] I think this shows rather that the new conditions which have now been imposed by us, conditions which are pushing international relations in a moral direction, the

United States which said to the PLO before: Agree with the fact that Israel exists; renounce terrorist methods of struggle; recognize Resolutions 242 and 338 which virtually contain recognition of Israel; and then we shall begin talks with you. [sentence as heard] I think that at that time it was a trick—at that time. They calculated that the PLO would not embark on these steps. But the PLO has embarked on these steps. This is already a turn toward morality, as it were, which has affected the PLO too. And the United States could not stand firm in its negative stances toward the PLO and has not been able to ignore its former position. And I think that from this point of view as well, we made a huge contribution to the development of such a situation.

[Levin] So, all in all, we have every right to say that the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev develops our concept of new political thinking and introduces to it very new and important philosophical elements, as well as specific deeds. Therefore, of course, the concept will remain both the focus of attention and study and, therefore, it still must work vigorously.

[Shishlin] Let us put it like this. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the United Nation sums up the results of a certain period, major results and major achievements. And at the same time this is the prologue to decisive, constructive actions in the name of radical improvement of the international situation.

[Primakov] I will add that unfortunately, for the time being, we cannot say that there is no room for improvement. I would not like us to be making excessively optimistic conclusions on this score.

[Levin] Nonetheless the general trend is reassuring. Our program ends here. Thank you, esteemed comrades, for your attention. All the best to you.

Tokyo, U.S. View of Gorbachev Speech Cited

PM1512165188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[G. Vasilyev dispatch: "'Everyone Together or No One.' Pooling Efforts for the Sake of Mankind's Survival"]

[Excerpt] New York-Moscow, December—[passage omitted] More and more time has passed since the Soviet leader's speech was heard from the UN rostrum. But the substance of the speech and its in-depth assessments of the international situation and the Soviet initiatives in the disarmament sphere are continuing to remain the focus of attention for governments, politicians, public figures, and the press. Approval, the expression of hopes for a successful advance toward a secure world, and calls for the West to take constructive reciprocal steps predominate amid the flood of commentaries.

Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita described M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech as "an all-embracing speech that generalized the main avenues of the Soviet Union's policy." The head of the Japanese Government particularly noted the "constructive tone of this speech, which stresses the need for political dialogue." "There is no doubt that the time has come to think about some reasonable reductions," U.S. Congressman Vic Fazio stated. "The Soviet proposal," U.S. Representative Patricia Schroeder echoed him, "may prove to be the very opportunity that we need to control our budgetary deficit."

But other voices can also be heard. Caspar Weinberger, the former U.S. defense secretary and an incorrigible "hawk," is dissatisfied. Other right-wingers are also disquieted and make no secret of their negative reaction—for it will become even more difficult in the new situation to get multibillion military appropriations through the Congress. What about NATO command circles, for everyone who is interested in the future demilitarization and humanization of international relations is awaiting their answer to the Soviet Union's peace initiatives? Unfortunately, the Atlanticists' answer is extremely evasive. The communique published in Brussels following a session of the NATO Council at the level of foreign ministers welcomed M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session, describing it as "one of the most promising events of recent times." But they do not intend to do anything on their part to render the process of unilateral disarmament a two-way process. NATO members state that they are waiting for some "tangible and long-term changes" and once again declare their devotion to the "deterrence strategy."

In the Atlanticists' reaction one can clearly hear the voices of the "European sages and global strategists," who, according to THE WASHINGTON POST, under conditions where detente is gathering steam, "were faced with the prospect of being deprived of a means of existence." "The Soviet leader," D. Ignatius and G. Allen, the article's authors, wrote, in developing their ideas, "proposed to reduce the very threat that was the subject of discussion at thousands of conferences and that has been written about in thousands of reports. How can we debate the topic 'Where is NATO heading?' if the potential adversary announces a troop withdrawal?"

The world in which we live today is fundamentally different from that of our fathers. By no means everyone understands this. The old views, stereotypes, and illusions are not giving up without a struggle. We have entered an era in which progress will mainly be based on general human interests, yet some people still think in terms of political confrontation and military superiority. People are living in a single interdependent and interconnected world, yet some people think that they can keep themselves to themselves and cut themselves off by national borders and ideological barriers. Fortunately, the ideas of the new political thinking and the desire for a joint concerted solution of global problems are gaining increasingly broad support. It is not a question of who will win but rather of everyone together or no one—that is the question facing mankind at the threshold of the 21st century.

United States & Canada

Reagan Cited on U.S.-Soviet Relations

PM1912105188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Changes for the Better. President Reagan on Soviet-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] Washington, 17 Dec—President Ronald Reagan has noted with satisfaction that substantial changes for the better have of late taken place in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations. This is borne out above all by the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles between the USSR and the United States, he said at the University of Virginia on Friday [16 December]. "The Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is the first agreement in history that has led to the elimination of a whole class of nuclear missiles." According to the opinion of the head of the White House, progress is also being made in the sector of the elaboration of agreements on strategic arms, nuclear tests, and chemical weapons. "We are also at the point of opening new talks on the subject of balancing conventional arms in Europe."

"We," Reagan went on, "highly appreciate and welcome the Soviet Union's decision to reduce its Armed Forces announced by Mr Gorbachev at the United Nations." At the same time, "it is necessary to bear in mind that this Soviet decision is a part and a result of a broader process of disarmament which was initiated several years ago."

"Another sphere where achievements are visible is the sector of the settlement of problems pertaining to regional conflicts," the head of the U.S. Administration said. As an example he cited the situation concerning Afghanistan, Cambodia, and also southern Africa, where a protocol to an agreement to settle the situation in South-West Africa has just been signed with the assistance of the USSR, the United States, Cuba, Angola, and the RSA.

"Remarkable progress has also been achieved in the sphere of human rights...." R. Reagan went on to say. "In bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations we are witnessing that more and more Soviet and U.S. citizens are visiting each other's countries, and that scientific, cultural, and intellectual exchanges in general are expanding."

The U.S. President paid special attention to the recent productive Soviet-U.S. summits, which he described as "remarkable evidence which speaks for itself" of the current state of relations between the USSR and the United States. "Just remember what we have witnessed this year alone," he said. "The U.S. President and the Soviet leader walk across Red Square and chat with passersby about war and peace.... Now, this week, in connection with the devastation in Armenia, Americans and Russians are making common cause, just like 44 years ago in the struggle against another terrible enemy."

Reagan said that he would like Soviet-U.S. summits to be "frequent and regular." At the same time he stressed that "serious fundamental problems persist" in the relations between the USSR and the United States. The head of the White House said that it is necessary to maintain U.S. military might; however, according to his words, "the application of U.S. might must not, of course, exceed the bounds of morality."

New Appointments for Bush Team Reported

PM1912130988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by unnamed own correspondent: "G. Bush Forms His Team"]

[Text] New York—President-elect G. Bush has announced the appointment of the U.S. defense secretary. He will be former Texas Senator J. Tower. His nomination has caused widespread discussion in Washington. It has even been investigated by the FBI. Questions were raised about Tower's illegal ties with corporations, and the press has been strenuously concerned with the moral side of his personality. He has been twice divorced and the newspapers have written of his partiality for alcohol.

But G. Bush, like Tower himself, denied these accusations when addressing journalists. The new president assessed highly the personality of the candidate for the post of Pentagon chief, and said that he will successfully pursue U.S. defense and security policy, which Bush continues to link with stepping up the country's military might.

Immediately after the announcement of the new Pentagon leader, debates were sharpened in Washington around U.S. military policy. Journalists raised questions of the problem of arms control. All this is now being linked with the peace initiatives put forward in the United Nations by M.S. Gorbachev. That is why Tower was asked about them. Touching on the Soviet proposals, he said that they "are timely and are steps in the right direction." But Tower expressed himself in favor of the same old concept of "peace through strength" and stressed that the United States "perhaps needs more arms but at less cost." He has his own plan for reviewing a number of military programs and reorganizing the Pentagon.

Other vacancies are being filled at the same time as Tower's appointment. Even earlier, in addition to important posts like that of secretary of state, the president's national security aide, and White House chief of staff, which Bush gave to J. Baker, Lieutenant General Scowcroft (retired), and New Hampshire Governor Sununu respectively, representatives of the so-called "economic wing" had been chosen. Thus Robert Mosbacher, the well-known Texan oilman and a close friend of Bush's, will become secretary of commerce, and Stanford University Professor Michael Boskin will become chairman of the President's economic council. Clayton Yeutter, a former farmer from Nebraska and later U.S. representative at international trade talks, will be secretary of agriculture. The present secretary of the treasury, Nicholas Brady, and Attorney General Richard Thornburgh will retain their posts.

CIA Chief W. Webster and Carla Hills, the first woman appointed by Bush, will also move from the old administration to the new. She is being given the post of U.S. representative at international trade talks. Prestigious diplomatic vacancies have also been filled—Thomas Pickering, the present ambassador to Israel, becomes the U.S. representative in the United Nations.

Ahead are new appointments which are to be approved by the Senate. Jack Kemp is "coming up." It is believed that he will be minister of housing and urban development. Observers believe this is a gesture to the conservatives, for whom this former congressman from New York State, who withdrew last year from the presidential marathon, is an active ideologue.

Schifter's Comments on Human Rights Rebutted

PM1912102588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Dec 88 p 3

[Articles by Richard Schifter, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, and Doctor of Juridical Sciences Yuriy Reshetov, under the general heading "People Have the Right..."—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The 40th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN General Assembly is currently being celebrated. Questions about what rights people should have and how those rights should be implemented continue to worry millions of inhabitants of our planet and are being heatedly discussed at the most varied state, political, and social levels. Today, at the invitation of our Washington correspondent V. Sisnev, R. Schifter, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, puts forward in TRUD his view of this problem. Doctor of Juridical Sciences Yu.A. Reshetov replies for the Soviet side. He is acting chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights Administration.

Richard Schifter:

Around 20 years ago a diplomat with a good knowledge of Soviet problems told me that important changes in the Soviet Union could only occur when people who came to maturity after the death of Stalin arrived in the upper ranks of the country's leadership. This finally happened in March 1985. That was when I remembered what I had been told many years previously about the possibility of change in the USSR. However, months passed and there was no evidence of fundamental change. Arrests of dissidents, the illegal use of psychiatry, and the suppression of religion continued.

More than 18 months passed before we started seeing even a slight hint of a new approach. Then, in December 1986, the political prisoner Anatoliy Marchenko died. (He was convicted under Article 190 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and died in prison of acute cardiopulmonary deficiency—TRUD editor's note.) This again reminded us that 33 years after Stalin departed the scene, Stalinism is still alive. But just a few days after Marchenko's death came the amazing news that Andrey Sakharov had been allowed to return to Moscow. In the next few months many people convicted merely for having said or written something were released from jail.

We started hearing more and more often not only about restructuring—which was seen as the improvement of the economy—but also about glasnost and democratization. Many of us remained skeptical. We wondered whether glasnost would simply allow Soviet citizens to unmask corrupt or undistinguished bureaucrats to enable the leadership to determine the weaknesses in the system and rectify them. But with the passage of time it became increasingly obvious that at least certain members of the Soviet leadership recognize that all Soviet people stand to gain from a more open society—a society where differences of opinion are permitted and where the leadership does not claim to know all the answers.

Now, on the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, there is more reason than at any time since 1948 to hope that the principles of the declaration will become the norm for governments' behavior worldwide. Back in 1948, under Stalin, the Soviet Union and its UN allies, together with South Africa and Saudi Arabia, abstained from the General Assembly vote on the adoption of the Universal Declaration.

The decades since then have shown again and again that a large group of states had been created, including the Soviet Union, where the principles of the Universal Declaration were simply not observed. Leonid Brezhnev's signature on the Final Act in Helsinki—a document which subsumed the provisions of the Universal Declaration—in no way changed the position. The Universal Declaration remained a meaningless piece of paper as far as the Soviet Union was concerned.

Against this backdrop it should come as no surprise that many of us were initially skeptical about glasnost and democratization. Was it real, we wondered, or just hot air? But when, at the beginning of 1987, more and more political prisoners started going back home, we began to realize that a major transformation was under way in the Soviet Union. Objectively speaking, the progress made by the Soviet people since then has by no means been smooth. This situation is best summed up in the words "two steps forward, one step back." And for a long time we in the West continued to doubt the depth of the changes.

But after the development that took place in the Soviet Union following the 5 April 1988 PRAVDA editorial article replying to the Nina Andreyeva letter published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, many observers started admitting that there are courageous people in Soviet society who are trying to bring to their country the light of a new day. A day in which the standards established by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights would be respected everywhere by all ruling institutions.

In order to achieve this goal long-standing traditions will have to be overcome. Ultimately, it was, after all, Peter the Great who founded a secret office and decreed that it was entitled to persecute those committing "treachery by word or deed." And it was Catherine the Great who wanted to cordon off Russia from the writings of the Enlightenment and "everything spread by their words around Europe." But she failed because the spirit of the Enlightenment, which has truly inspired the world for more than 2 centuries, produced Pushkin, Turgenev, Tolstoy, and Dostoyevskiy. As current development has demonstrated, the ideas of these great Russian writers did not die with them; they still escape the influence of those continuing the work of the secret office.

So, in marking the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we wish our friends in the Soviet Union, to use President Lincoln's words, a "new birth of freedom" and we want to express our hope that we will continue to work together to ensure that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Yuriy Reshetov:

I think that TRUD readers will have been more than somewhat bewildered by R. Schifter's reasoning as to how he sees the human rights problem. I think this because that was my feeling when I read what he had written. And I wanted to share my feelings and views on these issues with readers in greater detail.

We have all recently observed with satisfaction the notable change for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations in the most varied areas and the strengthening of mutual understanding. This also applies to such difficult areas as humanitarian problems and human rights. U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz' admission more than a year ago that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue on human rights is a two-way street was of fundamental importance.

Now here we are faced with the arguments of such a ranking figure as the U.S. assistant secretary of state. And what a "leap" backward it is, to the time when the United States got on its old hobbyhorse of reducing the entire human rights problem to attempts to unceremoniously "instruct" the Soviet Union in democracy.

No, of course, the lexical tenor is updated and different. There are the words "restructuring," "glasnost," and "democratization." But all this shoulder-tapping conceals amazingly outdated and unfounded methods and approaches. The entire human rights problem is again reduced to a highly arbitrary interpretation of the way in which things are happening in the Soviet Union. There are more half-truths, more classroom edicts and picturesque appeals to the "new day" when the Soviet Union will "respect human rights."

I would like to tell R. Schifter that his attempts to pass judgment and lay down the law on our affairs seem quite inappropriate, since the newspaper readers whom he is addressing are perfectly well aware of our former problems, what has already been done, and what still has to be done.

But I think that some things in this respect are worth recalling and clarifying.

For instance, R. Schifter's reference to the fact that the Soviet Union abstained from the 1948 UN vote on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. He shamefully failed to mention why this happened. Let us remember why, since it concerns the very subject of the discussion.

When the Universal Declaration was starting to be elaborated the Western countries intended to limit the rights listed in it to the civil and political rights traditionally recognized in Western doctrine. The Soviet Union and the other socialist states, supported by the developing world, insisted on making the declaration universal in terms of the range of rights covered, and on including in it such vital rights as the right to work, a fair wage, leisure, and education. At the same time, the document did not reflect our country's proposals on the peoples' right to self-determination, the need to oppose fascism and Nazism, the banning of Nazi propaganda, and the struggle against racism and racial discrimination. In was in this context that the Soviet Union abstained from the vote on the declaration in 1948. Those were the true circumstances unmentioned by R. Schifter surrounding the historical fact.

Let us continue our recollections. The principles and provisions of the Universal Declaration were later developed and fleshed out in international pacts on human rights that are binding on states. Their entry into force became possible following the ratification of the pacts in 1973 by the Soviet Union, which was the first of the great powers to do this. Many others followed the USSR's example. The pacts started operating at the national level, and the monitoring mechanism they envisaged was set up at the international level. The Soviet Union regularly presents its reports on the fulfillment of the pacts' provisions, reports which are closely studied by international experts. As a result, international organs have concluded that the situation in this sphere in our country is satisfactory. The United States, however, remains aloof from any monitoring system. Why? Because it has not signed or ratified many fundamental international agreements on human rights. I think this fact speaks for itself.

We, of course, do not believe that everything in our garden is rosy. But, rolling up our sleeves, we are all working together to ensure that things get better. This is the aim of restructuring. And a great deal is being done.

Thus, relying on Lenin's legacy, we are fundamentally reforming our society's political system. Our people's power is becoming all-embracing and ascending to a qualitatively new level. Elections are changing from a formality to a real factor in our lives. And we have no limits on developing democracy such as are inherent in the capitalist system. I am thinking, for instance, of the election of enterprise leaders.

Our legislation is being made more humane. It has already been decided to sharply reduce the categories of crime incurring the death penalty. Emigration conditions are being made more democratic. Our country carries out in full the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act in all respects. The so-called refusenik problem is being removed. We currently have no prisoners jailed on the basis of their political or religious convictions.

...All these are our concerns and problems, and we will continue to resolve them.

But why did R. Schifter make no mention of the state of affairs in his U.S. homeland? After all, there are things worth mentioning. If only for purposes of comparison.

Thus the United States not only employs several kinds of capital punishment, but even allows this penality for juveniles. And, according to the latest figures, the death penalty is being more widely employed. R. Schifter ought to remember what A. Young, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, said about the thousands of political prisoners in U.S. jails; he ought to count up how many are still there. The same applies to the psychiatric clinics in the United States today, which keep hundreds of thousands of people—by no means all deserving of such a fate—in isolation from society. And it would probably be worth mentioning the "rights" of the native citizens of America—the Indians dying on their reservations—and dark-skinned U.S. citizens subjected to various kinds of discrimination.

I think certain TRUD readers might ask whether it was actually worth publishing R. Schifter's highly unobjective arguments. I am convinced that the newspaper was absolutely right to publish his article. Our readers must know the real views preached by U.S. figures at various levels—including the highest levels. This makes it possible to get a clearer impression of the difficult struggle of opinions currently taking place within the United States itself between supporters of the old and new principles of relations with the USSR.

In arguing with those whose opinion we do not accept, we in no way want to restore the spirit of confrontation. We are convinced—and this is confirmed by the practice of our regular contacts with the Americans, in which, incidentally, R. Schifter has constantly taken part—that even on the by no means simple problems of human rights we can and must discuss matters in a constructive and creative spirit. We have sufficiently demonstrated already that we are not prepared to trade recriminations and attacks with each other, but we are ready to see that each of us does as much as possible at home to ensure the all-around enrichment of human rights.

I am convinced that President Lincoln, talking about government of the people, undoubtedly had in mind the government of the American people on American territory. That is why we will work to ensure that each people governs over its own territory in the spirit that imbues the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

China

PRC 'Zhinui-1' Rocket Launched 19 Dec

LD1912205388 Moscow TASS in English 2044 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Beijing December 19 TASS—China's first rocket system of the Zhinui series was launched today from the space centre on Hainan Island.

XINHUA News Agency reports that the on-board equipment was designed to explore the middle layers of the atmosphere in the area of the equator. The launch of the Zhinui 1 has great significance for developing science in China and perfecting space technology.

The new rocket system was developed by the State Defense Scientific and Research Institute of China and the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the news agency reports.

Ministerial Talks, 'Common' PRC Stands Viewed

OW2012015688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Logichev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: The results of the talks between the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers prove that both countries have common viewpoints on major international issues. In this connection, station commentator Logichev has the following comment:

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's visit to the Soviet Union, which lasted 2 and ½ days, was quite short but very fruitful [po you cheng xiao di]. The visit proved that the two neighboring socialist countries have more things in common than differences. It proved that the two countries have a common stand on the most important question of strengthening peace and security.

The Soviet Union and China share the longest border in the world, and so they both sincerely hope that the Far East and the entire Asia-Pacific region will have peace and security.

This September, Qian Qichen pointed out in his speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session that the people of all the countries in the world are facing the common task of stopping the arms competition and striving for troop reductions. China calls on the Soviet Union and the United States to reach an agreement as quickly as possible on reducing nuclear weapons on a large scale, especially on the reduction of 50 percent of their strategic nuclear weapons.

It goes without saying that the Soviet Union has been striving to reach this goal. Our two countries have both striven to promote the United Nations' role in maintaining peace and strengthening cooperation among countries. The Soviet Union and China have also opposed Israel's policy of aggression and expansion, and have supported the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples. The Soviet Union and China have also advocated the solution of regional conflicts through political means and talks.

When Qian Qichen visited the Soviet Union, both sides reiterated their willingness to promote the solution of the Cambodian issue in a just and reasonable manner and as quickly as possible. As pointed out in Moscow, both countries also hold that it is necessary to strictly abide by the Geneva accords on resolving the Afghan issue. The Soviet Union and China also support Korea's proposal for turning the Korean peninsula into a nonnuclear zone in the Far East. We can also cite more issues on which both countries share a common stand.

The situation in Asia, to a great extent, depends on the relations between the Soviet Union and China. Moscow is convinced that the full normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China is a component and an extremely important part of the world's efforts to improve the international atmosphere, strengthen security, and expand cooperation among all countries in solving global problems. This course is in accord with the interests of the peoples of the two countries and will help fulfill the historical tasks of the two countries.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Continues Japanese Visit

Holds Talks With Uno

OW2012024988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is now visiting Japan. Moscow radio's Tokyo correspondent Potapov reports on it as follows:

On the morning of 19 December, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze paid a visit to the emperor's palace, and signed his name on a list of well-wishers for the emperor. This was done in deference to the Japanese Constitution as well as the Japanese tradition upholding the emperor as a symbol of the nation. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze later held two rounds of closed-door meetings with Foreign Minister Uno. According to a source close to the Japanese Foreign Ministry, it appears that topics in the talks included such international issues as East-West relations, the Cambodian question, the Asia-Pacific regional situation and that of the Korean peninsula, in addition to various bilateral issues pending between the two countries.

Foreign Minister Shevardnadze delivered a speech at Iikura Hall in the Japanese Foreign Ministry in the evening of 19 December. He is also due to meet with Prime Minister Takeshita, LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] General Secretary Abe, and former Prime Minister Nakasone on the morning of 20 December. [passage omitted]

Addresses Reception With Uno

PM2012111788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Japanese Talks"]

[Text] This morning [19 December] Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, who is on an official visit to Japan, visited the Imperial Palace and expressed sympathy on the illness of Emperor Hirohito.

Talks then began with Japanese Foreign Minister S. Uno. There was an exchange of views on the international situation and on the most important aspects of contemporary international relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze spoke of the Soviet leadership's views on the possibility of promoting changes in international politics and mutual relations between states that would permit a transition from confrontation and discord to joint efforts aimed at developing mutual understanding and cooperation to deal with the tasks common to all of humanity. In this connection, he explained the conceptual and philosophical clauses of the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the United Nations on 7 December.

The development of the Soviet concept for ensuring peace and the development of cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, which was set out previously in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, was explained. The Soviet Union attaches paramount importance to reducing the level of military confrontation in this region of the world and is prepared to commence negotiations on cutting military capabilities here, at any time, in any place, and at any level.

The Soviet Union counts on Japan's active involvement in this process.

S. Uno positively assessed the restructuring processes in the Soviet Union, the new political thinking, and the latest initiatives delivered by M.S. Gorbachev in New York. He expressed the hope for a successful conclusion to the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms.

In addition to a comparison of conceptual views, in the talks a number of issues in international politics of mutual interest were touched upon at a specific level. They included problems of enviromental protection and the peaceful use of space, the transformation of world economic ties, including a settlement of the debt problem of developing countries, the affirmation of the primacy of international law, and the creation of a mechanism and structure for further diplomatic contacts.

At the ministers' second meeting, which was also held on the same day, special attention was devoted to considering the whole complex of bilateral relations. Both sides expressed the intention to continue their efforts for the development of mutually beneficial contacts and links in various spheres, including political dialogue, commercial-economic cooperation, and cultural exchanges. Specific proposals were submitted in this connection.

During an exchange of opinions on prospects for concluding a peace treaty between the two countries, S. Uno touched on the so-called territorial question and gave Japan's interpretation of its historical aspects.

E.A. Shevardnadze set out the Soviet Union's position on this and spoke in favor of removing complications and differences through calm, amicable, and objective discussions, taking into consideration all the circumstances.

The idea of creating a negotiating machinery for the consideration of all aspects of concluding a peace treaty between the USSR and Japan was discussed constructively.

Working groups for the expert consideration of international and bilateral problems were formed.

In the evening Japanese Foreign Minister S. Uno gave a reception in honor of E.A. Shevardnadze.

Addressing those gathered, S. Uno said in part:

Mr Minister, since you visited our country roughly 3 years ago, stormy changes and developments have been taking place both in your country and in ours, as well as throughout the world.

Here in Japan there is almost no one who does not know the word 'perestroyka.' The word 'perestroyka' even won glorious first place in a competition for the most popular words in our country this year. The whole world is now intently following the transformations being implemented in the Soviet Union under this slogan.

Incidentally, we too have made efforts on a nationwide scale to resolve the issues of how to ensure harmony between national prosperity and global development, how to pursue a domestic policy whose key element is increasing domestic demand, or of what our contribution to the international community should be.

Certain indisputable results, which were achieved thanks to the guiding efforts of R. Reagan, U.S. president, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, shine like unprecedented stars of hope in the 43 years of the world's postwar history.

Ancient wise men, be they in the East or West, left to us their sayings, which are full of profound sense. At the basis of Buddhist thinking lies the idea of the "cycle of human existence", which incorporates such concepts as "recurrent life and death," "eternal motion," and the "eternal changing of phenomena". On the other hand, the main idea of one of the founders of Greek philosophy, Heracleitus, boils down to the fact that everything passes, that everything changes.

Esteemed Minister!

As foreign ministers representing our countries, let us together extend the process of change and development to Japanese-Soviet relations. Relations between Japan and the Soviet Union in the postwar period have not always progressed smoothly. There have been times in our relations when the bright rays of the sun inspired hope in the hearts of people, but at other times our hearts grew icy in the cold wind. However, I am certain that now, without a doubt, one of those moments in history which create an opportunity for considerable development—of which there have been many in our postwar relations—has begun. What should be done in order not to let this crucial moment slip away? Mr. Minister, today we held talks for more than 6 hours in a completely frank manner or, as they say in Japan, "with an open heart". There exist between our countries issues on which our stances differ, including our approach to an unresolved matter left over from World War II. How are we to reduce the divergence between our stances? I think that it is precisely here that serious efforts are required from both sides.

The Russian writer and Decembrist A.A. Bestuzhev (Marlinskiy) thought that life required motion, and the developing mind deeds. When parties aspiring to new and stable relations act upon their combined wisdom, then, I am convinced, a road full of hope into the future will certainly open up, like the rising sun in the morning.

This will open up bright prospects, and not only for Japan and the USSR or Japanese-Soviet relations. Indeed, the very development of relations between our countries is of great importance for securing universal peace and the happiness of humanity. Moreover, they will lay down firm foundations for the global contribution that Japan and the Soviet Union wish to make, each one proceeding on the basis of its own position.

You, Mr Minister, are to deliver a paper to the Japanese Institute for the Study of International Problems. I expect it to be an interesting speech, both on the great changes and developments taking place in the world and on the relations between Japan and the Soviet UNion in these conditions.

To the successful completion of the visit to Japan by Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze!

To the development of friendly relations between Japan and the Soviet Union!

In a reply speech, E.A. Shevardnadze said:

On a long journey, man is always accompanied by two thoughts: his homeland and the country to which he is bound. He wishes for his own home peace and prosperity, items indivisible in his consciousness from the good concord and understanding he counts on meeting in the other country.

We have come to you with these thoughts, desires, and hope.

Our goal is for full-blooded, good-neighborly, and wide-scale relations with Japan which correspond to the potentials of our countries and to the aspirations and desires of our peoples.

But the world today is such that, when one thinks of one's own home and of one's neighbor's home, one inevitably comes to reflect on the state of affairs under the common roof of mankind as a whole.

All is mutually linked here today. And equally mutually linked are our thoughts on the interrelations between national and universal human destinies.

I recall now my first official visit to Japan, my first trip to Asia after being appointed to the post of foreign minister. This event was all the more memorable in that it served to renew, after a lengthy interval, direct political dialogue between our countries. We then displayed with the utmost definiteness our readiness to start writing, with our Japanese colleagues, new pages in the history of bilateral relations.

Only a short time has passed since then, according to the calendar.

According to other criteria, however, this time has turned out to be a vast space of time: a time of an abrupt turn to a qualitatively new state of the world, a time in which the tendency toward an improvement in the international climate which has manifested itself so masterfully is to no small extent being fostered by the philosophy and—even more importantly—by the specific practice of the new political thinking. From mutual mistrust to the aspiration to understand one another; from confrontation to dialogue; from the flexing of military muscles to real disarmament; from local clashes to the settlement of regional conflicts—this is the path onto which mankind is now turning, and where there opens up before us not only hope for survival, but also hope for the building of a wise, nuclear-free, and peaceful world capable of being guided by the principles of freedom of choice, a balance of interests, and global cooperation. In his recent address to the UN General Assembly session, M.S. Gorbachev gave what I think is a very weighty formula which reveals the unique nature of the present historical movement. We have arrived, he said, at a line where disordered spontaneity is leading us into a dead end, and when the international community has to learn to formulate and direct processes in such a way as to save civilization and to make it secure for all and more favorable for normal life.

Since January 1986, the world has begun to acquire a new vision of the long-term future.

But does the state of relations between two such major neighboring states as the Soviet Union and Japan correspond to this tendency? Will they finally be able to cast off the shroud of alienation which has arisen between them?

While not forgetting that the Soviet Union and Japan belong to different historically established systems, and having no intention of doing anything to the detriment of relations between our Japanese partners and their friends and allies, we see the difficulties that the past has left us, and we seek methods of overcoming them.

Without dramatizing the situation, we see opportunities for developing our relations not along an oscillating curve, one with increases alternating with falls, but rather along an ascending curve.

Through interaction with each other, we can also do a good deal to make the situation in the Asia-Pacific region more healthy. As is well known, an extensive conceptual program was put forward on this account by M.S. Gorbachev in his speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. Without going into detail, I recall only that the serious questions in the speeches of military security, including naval and air force activities, ecological problems, the struggle against natural disasters, and cooperation in preserving and developing national traditions, are important for our national priorities as well.

Proposing to develop dialogue in this direction, too, we proceed from the fact that that the colossal energy of Japan's prestige must by all means be included in the network of regional and global political detente.

Summing up the results of the outgoing year of 1988, one can say that, on the whole, positive overtones began to reappear in our dialogue of that period. Political contacts, including the Soviet leadership's conversations with prominent Japanese figures, became more active; a number of reciprocal parliamentary visits took place; and another meeting between representatives of the Soviet and Japanese publics was held.

A change in other areas has been taking shape, too. Goods exchange has increased, and new progressive forms of economic cooperation have developed.

Bearing in mind, however, our potential, it cannot be but recognized that this is too little. There still remains much to be done to raise our relations to the level of genuine good-neighborliness.

I think that the conditions for stable relations developing along a wide spectrum of directions—from politics, economics, and commerce to scientific, technical, and cultural exchanges—have been created. They are formed first and foremost in people's minds and feelings.

There are those present here who have visited the Soviet Union and who know—and indeed, I think that all Japanese people know—what respect Soviet people have for the Japanese people, what great interest there is in their achievements and culture. The success of the "Kabuki" theater, which recently guest-starred in our country, is indicative, as are the demonstrations of the tea ceremony by the "Urasenke" School. The Japanese garden that has grown on Moscow soil has pierced our hearts with the petals and scent of the flowering sakura.

Waves of attention and interest in our restructuring are coming, too, from Japan. As we see it, many Japanese are, as it were, rediscovering our country.

Our thoughts of home are not now free of pain and grief. The tragic results of the recent earthquake in Armenia, which killed tens of thousands of our brothers and sisters, deeply wounded the whole Soviet people, and it will be very hard to heal them. But the horrific pictures of the disaster must not hide the scenes of the true international solidarity, sympathy, aid, and support that unfolded in literally a matter of hours after the tragedy. Not only did the bowels of the earth open wide, but human hearts and souls opened up, we opened up, the world opened up, united and great in its understanding of the commonality of our fates.

The hand of aid was also extended to us by Japan, and we took it with gratitude. It is with gratitude that we are speaking of it now, too.

Thousands of people are at this moment addressing our embassy in Tokyo with offers of assistance. One woman brought her modest savings; she was asked her name, but refused to give it.

True nobility is inseparable from selflessness. In this way the living soul of one people responds to the pain and torment of another.

This tragedy was not manmade. But it is reminiscent of the possibility of a catastrophe created by foolishness or ill will. When you think about this, the more acutely you are aware of the need to act in the name of world consensus, to seek and to find a common langauge, to institute cooperation in the name of peace, calm, prosperity, and the progress of our countries' peoples.

This is precisely where we see the paramount task of our visit as being. The first round of talks with Foreign Minister Uno demonstrated that together we can resolve this. I hope that we shall confirm our view at tomorrow's meeting with Prime Minister Takeshita.

I hope that our visit to your country and the meetings and talks that have already been held and those that lie ahead, will make a contribution to the noble cause of bringing the Japanese and USSR peoples closer together and will be a step forward along the road to a better world for us and for the whole world.

Allow me, Mr Uno, to express our warm gratitude to you and to all your Japanese colleagues in the diplomatic corps for the cordial reception and hospitality shown to us.

I would like to take this opportunity to greet all the Japanese guests present here and through them the Japanese people on the upcoming new year and to wish them peaceful skies, happiness, and prosperity.

Delivers Gorbachev Letter

LD2012095188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] The visit of Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, to Japan is continuing. Correspondents of the UPI agency report on the meeting between the Soviet guest and Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita. It took place this morning in the official residence of the prime minister.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze handed the Japanese prime minister a message from Comrade Gorbachev. The letter notes the necessity of a political dialogue at the summit level between Japan and the Soviet Union. The high level of dialogue will make it possible to open a new chapter in Soviet-Japanese relations, the letter stresses.

Discusses Naval Cuts

OW2012103888 Tokyo KYODO in English 1005 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 20 KYODO—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shavardnadze told former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone on Tuesday that the time is ripe for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to visit Japan.

Shevardnadze, in an hour-long meeting with Nakasone, noted that there have been discussions in three separate working groups to prepare for a Japan-Soviet summit between Gorbachev and Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) sources said.

The three working groups, established by Shevardnadze and his Japanese counterpart Sosuke Uno on Monday, discussed a bilateral territorial dispute, other bilateral problems and regional affairs on Tuesday, according to Japanese Foreign Ministry officials.

The Soviet foreign minister, currently on a four-day visit to Japan through Wednesday, expressed his hope that discussions in working groups would be expanded to cover political, economic, trade and other issues, the LDP sources said.

Nakasone, who was Japan's prime minister for five years until November 1987, asked Shevardnadze to exert Moscow's influence on North Korea so that it will free two Japanese seamen who have been detained there for five years, the sources said.

Shevardnadze promised that he will convey Japan's request to leaders in North Korea, which he will visit after Japan and the Philippines, they said.

Nakasone told Shevardnadze that North Korea has been extremely slow to respond to Japan's initiative for opening nongovernment-level dialogue.

Shevardnadze fell short of responding to Nakasone's demand that the Soviet Union withdraw troops from four small islands off Hokkaido which the Soviet Union seized after World War II, the LDP sources said.

The foreign minister was quoted as saying that Moscow is seriously considering further disarmament, particularly reduction in naval forces, they said.

Earlier in the day, Shevardnadze met with Takeshita and LDP Secretary General Shintaro Abe. He also met Japan Socialist Party Chairwoman Takako Doi later in the day.

Shevardnadze, who held his third and last round of talks with Foreign Minister Uno later in the day, will give a press conference hours before leaving Tokyo for Manila Wednesday.

Japanese Stand on Dialogue Criticized

OW2012023488 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, who is making an official visit to Japan, began talks in Tokyo today with Japanese Foreign Minister Uno. The following is a short commentary by our station observer:

The last visit to Japan by a Soviet foreign minister was nearly 3 years ago. At that time, the new thinking in international affairs was just beginning to take shape. During the interim between the previous and current visits, East-West relations have noticeably changed from confrontation and mistrust to dialogue and cooperation.

Today, we have witnessed with our own eyes how the first steps toward a world free of nuclear weapons and violence were taken. Gorbachev's address to the United Nations the other day is an important milestone on the path toward this goal. The essence of the speech was to call on all nations and peoples, proceeding from the interests of peoples all over the world, to work together to seek a genuinely effective way toward [word indistinct] relaxation in international affairs. There is no doubt whatsoever how important it will be if the Soviet Union and Japan can undertake joint efforts in this regard.

The initiatives made by the Soviet Union in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk have laid down the necessary foundation for the two nations to work together to improve the international political climate in Asia and all over the world. In the 2 years or more since Gorbachev put forward in Vladivostok the principles for ensuring peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region, the situation in that region has improved noticeably, and nations there have begun to develop good-neighborly relations. The peace proposals by the Soviet leader in Krasnoyarsk this September have further promoted this policy. One of the proposals outlined in Krasnoyarsk calls for reducing military confrontation at sea in areas where the USSR, PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea are in proximity.

I believe that this proposal is very important for the Japanese, who are very concerned with marine [words indistinct]. It should also be pointed out here that the Soviet Union has unilaterally stated that it will not increase its nuclear weapons deployed in Asia. As everybody knows, all medium- and short-range missiles in the Asian part of the USSR will be destroyed by 1991.

Regrettably, the Japanese Government has, until today, failed to respond actively, or has not responded at all to the Soviet proposals. It must be pointed out that Tokyo has made the northern islands issue the precondition for the comprehensive development of Soviet-Japanese relations. Such a stand is apparently not constructive. What is satisfying, however, is that Japanese social circles and sensible politicians are becoming increasingly aware that disputes must be resolved through dialogue and compromise. It is hoped that this viewpoint will also [word indistinct] in Japanese Government circles.

Observers believe that the attitude of Japanese politicians to the Soviet Union is changing for the better. The gradual expansion in bilateral trade and good-neighborly exchanges between the two nations is a very good sign. Shevardnadze said at Tokyo airport: The political dialogue and the degree of mutual understanding between Japan and the Soviet Union are lagging somewhat behind the general tendency toward detente in international politics. The Soviet foreign minister emphasized: There are, of course, objective reasons for this; nonetheless, there are many circumstances which might be eased, or removed altogether.

The Soviet people hope that Shevardnadze's visit to Japan will be conducive to resolving the problems existing between the nations. It should be noted that better Soviet-Japanese relations are beneficial to the two nations, as well as to the situation in Asia and the whole world.

PRAVDA Assesses Soviet-Japanese Relations

PM1912101388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent I. Latyshev dispatch: "Potential for Good-Neighborliness"]

[Excerpt] Tokyo, Dec—[Passage omitted] The new Soviet peace initiatives put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations have met with broad approval among the Japanese public. It is noteworthy that even the most inveterate skeptics among political commentators here have viewed them as evidence of the USSR's sincere striving to lower the level of global military confrontation and ease international tension.

Unfortunately, though, Soviet-Japanese relations at the level of official institutions and departments leave much to be desired. And this is despite the fact that signs of a general improvement in the political climate have been observed in international developments in recent years. On a regional scale, too, against the background of the noticeable improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations and the positive changes on the Korean peninsula, Japan's position looks ossified, as it were.

I believe that this is due to Japanese Government circles' adherence to antiquated views of the Soviet Union. This adherence is shown first and foremost in the desire of a number of influential people to restrict reciprocal contacts between the publics of the two countries and to curtail them. By fueling fears of an imaginary "Soviet military threat," these circles have been trying to instill in the mind of the Japanese public a spirit of enmity and anti-Soviet prejudice.

The main artificial obstacles that the opponents of Japanese-Soviet friendship are using today are, as in years gone by, unjustified and categorical territorial demands, which are put forward as an essential condition for the improvement of bilateral relations. The deliberate unacceptability of these conditions can only create deadlocks, and the language of ultimatums has not brought and cannot bring anyone success in talks with the Soviet Union. A mutual readiness to discuss questions in a spirit of realism is a rational basis for dialogue which is acceptable to both sides.

At the moment Tokyo's political course toward our country continues to bear the mark of duplicity and contradictoriness. On the one hand the actions of certain government departments reveal the influence of advocates of the continued freezing of interstate relations at their present comparatively low level. The Japanese Foreign Ministry, for example, has taken an evasive stand toward the Soviet peace initiatives set out in M.S. Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech, whereas many representatives of the Japanese public greeted them with approval and saw in them an opportunity to reduce tension in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Japan Defense Agency is pursuing the line of further building up Japan's armaments on the pretext of countering the "Soviet military threat" and also the line of expanding military cooperation with the United States, including joint Japanese-U.S. military maneuvers in sea areas close to Soviet shores. It is noteworthy that this agency has not given a positive response to our decision to reduce the Soviet Armed Forces by 500,000 men. The leaders of Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry recently began harrassing the Daikin company on the grounds that it had violated the COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] ban on trade with the Soviet Union. This is clearly being done to intimidate the supporters of businesslike cooperation with our country.

But on the other hand there are certain encouraging movements in the Japanese Government's current stand toward the Soviet Union. Comments by Japanese statesmen about our country have been emphasizing a constructive approach to questions of relations with the USSR more often than they used to. The session of the Soviet-Japanese intergovernmental commission on scientific and technical cooperation which ended in Tokyo in early December could be evidence that such principles are appearing in Japan's position. The session resulted in an accord on expanding contacts on questions of environmental protection and protection against earthquakes.

Talks are due to be held between our two countries' foreign ministers in Tokyo in the very near future. Both the Soviet and the Japanese public express the hope that these talks will give impetus to the development and deepening of bilateral relations.

The recent decision by the Japanese Government to give more than Y1 billion in free aid to the victims of the Armenian earthquake has aroused natural feelings of gratitude among Soviet people, as has the decision to send consumer goods worth Y100 million to the disaster regions. A further Y60 million have been allocated for assistance via UN channels.

Such are the broad outlines of Soviet-Japanese relations at present. Do they not show that neither the Soviet Union nor Japan has any reason to shun each other? Do they not prompt the conclusion that the existing disagreements are not due to objective factors? It is no coincidence that a ramified system of good-neighborly contacts has formed and is operating between the two peoples. The threads of those contacts are becoming stronger and multiplying, come what may. This process gives grounds for hoping that the Japanese Government will display a greater readiness than before for the improvement of relations with our country.

Slow Growth in Bilateral Trade Blamed on Japan

LD1812203488 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—By TASS economic news writer Sergey Zinchuk:

The volume of trade between the Soviet Union and Japan is expected to surpass substantially this year the level of 2.6 billion roubles achieved in 1987, it was learnt from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Nevertheless, the volume and structure of Soviet-Japanese trade is not commensurate with a huge economic potential of the two countries. Indeed, after a period of dynamic development of bilateral business contacts, their volume has been fluctuating between 2.5-3.2 billion roubles in the recent years and, regrettably, the present increase of the volume is not the manifestation of a tendency to a stable growth.

There are many reasons for this state of things. Thus, unlike Western business circles, Japanese businessmen are not particularly eager to establish new forms of cooperation with the USSR, specifically, joint ventures. There are only six Soviet-Japanese enterprises so far, mostly medium and small, and not in the industries in which Japan excels. By all indications, not even the flexibility of the Soviet side in this matter, specifically the decree adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers the other day which facilitates considerably the setting up of joint ventures in the USSR, evokes a positive response of Japanese business circles.

So-called "incidents" when Japanese firms are hounded for alleged violations of Cocom [Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls] rules cannot be disregarded. It is hardly by chance that the latest such instance, accusations against Daikin Kogyo—took place literally the day before the visit of the Soviet foreign minister to Japan. These aspects alongside the attempts to link the expansion of bilateral economic cooperation to the solution of so-called "problem of northern territories" show that there are forces active in Japan that are striving to politicize Soviet-Japanese trade, to deprive it of future, block the roads to bringing the economic cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

But still there is room for the development of business contacts between the USSR and Japan. Thus, there are apparent good prospects for the chemical and petrochemical industry: Cooperation is started in the creation of large complexes in Nizhnevartovsk, Surgut, Tobolsk, other places in Siberia. This is a new form, when leading Japanese companies do business in the Soviet market not on their own but as part of international consortiums implementing projects for separate industries. The Soviet business circles welcome this form of economic ties and regard it to be very promising.

In short, it depends, not least of all, on the Japanese side how Soviet-Japanese business cooperation will develop. Meanwhile the USSR is prepared to develop scopeful economic ties with its Far-Eastern neighbour in every area where there is durable foundation for them, that is mutual advantage and consideration for the interests of the partner.

Kapitsa on Talks With DPRK Social Scientists

LD1712001188 Moscow TASS in English 2341 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—"An international conference on problems of the Asia-Pacific region (its idea was put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok) should be the result of thorough preparations with the participation of all countries. Bilateral and regional consultations, joint actions—through scientific and public channels—are exceedingly important as stages towards attaining greater security in Asia and the Pacific region. This was stated on December 16 by Mikhail Kapitsa, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, in the TASS interview, given upon completion of the joint conference of social scientists of the USSR and the DPRK.

The three-days conference discussed topical questions of the development of the Asia-Pacific region, the situation in the Korean peninsula.

The Soviet participants in the conference expressed support for the DPRK Government's proposals for peaceful unification of the country, for the Korean peninsula to become a nuclear-free zone.

The Korean side noted the importance of the USSR's Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives.

In an interview to a TASS correspondent Vice-President of the Academy of Social Sciences of the DPRK Kim Chol-sik noted the great significance of such meetings. A free exchange of opinions between Soviet and Korean scientists is bringing closer their stands on the basic issues, he believes. "We think that the meeting will make its contribution to implementation of the accords attained at a summit level between leaders of our two countries.

The joint conference of scientists of the USSR and the DPRK was held shortly before the visit of member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Foreign Minister of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which, it is expected in the Soviet Union, will lend a fresh impetus to the development of the USSR-DPRK relations.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Progress of SRV Pullout From Cambodia Noted

PM1912143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[P. Tsvetov report: "Right on Schedule"]

[Text] According to today's news agency reports, part of the Vietnamese People's Army contingent that has been performing its internationalist duty in Cambodia has begun moving toward the Vietnamese border.

The seventh and latest stage of the Vietnamese volunteers' withdrawal from Cambodia is nearing completion. As planned, the last 18,000 military servicemen from the group of 50,000 will return home by the end of the year. Their arrival is awaited there. The SRV Government and local authorities in the southern provinces of Vietnam, where the units in question are heading, have organized a series of events to be held upon their arrival, including job placement for the soldiers due to be demobilized.

We recall that the Vietnamese volunteers went to Cambodia to save that country's people from complete extermination by the Pol Pot regime. Almost 10 years have passed since then. And even though the Cambodia problem has still not been resolved once and for all, considerable positive changes are in evidence. The PRK and its Armed Forces have become stronger. There have been successes in implementing the course of the national reconciliation proclaimed a little over 1 year ago. But the most important fact is that the international climate has changed a lot, including in the Asia-Pacific region, and there is greater realism in the approaches to the solution of disputes. We are now seeing a search for ways to settle the Cambodian problem in which all the Cambodian sides are participating and also—with regard to the external aspects of it—Vietnam, Laos, the ASEAN members, the USSR, the PRC, and the United States. These sides, like the majority of the international community, furthermore, have reached the unanimous opinion that a solution can only be found at the negotiating table.

What will happen next? The SRV and PRK Governments are planning to complete the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodian by 1990 (a further 50,000 men remain), and official statements have been made to that effect.

Hun Sen Statement on Cambodian Military Noted

PM1912154788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent B. Vinogradov dispatch under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Statement by Hun Sen"]

[Text] Phnom Penh—The latest stage in the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces, which began 15 December, will last a week, as IZVESTIYA has already reported. During this time 18,000 soldiers will leave PRK territory. Units stationed along the PRK's western borders have begun heading for the Vietnamese border.

This was confirmed at a news conference given in Phnom Penh by Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers and PRK foreign minister.

In recent years, Hun Sen said, the Cambodian People's Revolutionary Army has grown stronger and has considerably enhanced its combat capability. And the day is not far off when, together with the self-defense forces, it will fully guarantee the Republic's security. He also noted that positive changes in China's stand on this issue have been noticed recently.

Plight of SRV Guest Workers Discussed

PM1512101188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Article by N. Solntsev, deputy chairman of the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Society Central Board: "Let's Be Undiplomatic About Some Problems Affecting Vietnamese Workers in the USSR"]

[Text] There are approximately 300 enterprises in our country where there are Vietnamese workers. Their number will obviously increase in the near future.

The Vietnamese young people (the press has provided extensive information on this) master a particular worker trade directly at the workbench. This simultaneously facilitates a reduction in the number of unemployed in the southern provinces of the SRV. In all, approximately 60,000 Vietnamese workers are now working in our country.

As is well known, the heroic republic inherited structurally disorganized industry and devastated agriculture in the south. Thirteen years have past, but it has still not proven possible to eliminate the grave consequences of imperialist aggression.

Lastly (little has been written about this as yet), the Vietnamese help us to overcome the manpower shortage in a number of industrial production units—in particular at light industry enterprises with a chronic shortage of manpower.

What could be better, you might ask?—it's precisely in the spirit of contemporary restructuring: mutually advantageous cooperation between fraternal socialist states. Especially as the comprehensive aid—effective air defense systems, equipment, and food—that the Soviet Union gave the fraternal country during the years of the war of resistance against the U.S. aggressors is still fresh in our minds. During those years the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies, other public organizations, and newspapers received thousands of messages of solidarity. Young people were prepared to donate blood for wounded Vietnamese soldiers and dreamed of enlisting in the ranks of the defenders of the Vietnamese skies. Today more than 300 industrial facilities are operating or are being constructed on the SRV's territory with Soviet assistance.

We can rightfully take pride in all this.

But here is what Ha Quang Du, first secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, said in a speech this October in Baku at the sixth meeting of Soviet and Vietnamese young people: "In the 7 years since the first group of Vietnamese young men and women came to the Soviet Union, a great many problems, along with great positive experiences, have accumulated. If you ask whether principled relations of friendship and mutual understanding have taken shape between Vietnamese and Soviet workers at the enterprises where our men work, the answer will most often be a sorry one.... Our men are also to be reproached for violations of production discipline and rules of conduct in hostels and their excessive irascibility. And the penalties are always the same—fines and deductions from wages. Yet here the question could have been raised in a principled Komsomol fashion...."

Let us give due credit to the leader of the Vietnamese Communist Youth Union for his keenly self-critical and at the same time diplomatic, placatory statement. But let us also listen to the words of one of the Vietnamese workers (at his request, I will refrain from giving his name or place of work): "...A Soviet worker can goldbrick, and the foreman will credit him with output. But we are constantly short of raw materials, components, and billets. We spend whole days sitting idle. Without any pay, of course. And indeed, what could they pay us for? True, they find ways of giving the Soviet comrades extra wages. Or else they offer us double wages for a last-minute rush job, and then they don't pay. I suppose they forget to do it...."

An exaggeration, perhaps? Alas, the report at a recent session of the interdepartmental commission of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems noted: "At enterprises in virtually all sectors, Vietnamese workers are not guaranteed a constant workload and a steady field of work; many days are wasted because of irregular supplies of raw materials, semifinished materials, tools.... Nearly everywhere the use of Vietnamese workers on a compulsory basis for extra work and on days off and holidays is increasing." Unfortunately, this is by no means the only problem. Living conditions and leisure are often badly organized.

Finally, some of the leaders on the spot, in order to evade critical fire, contrived to pin all the blame for low production efficiency and the inadequate wages of Soviet workers on the Vietnamese—they "bring down the rates" and so forth.

Sometimes this is taken up by the local press. Thus the Latvian newspaper RIGAS BALS, in its 25 August issue, published an extremely tendentious and malicious article about Vietnamese workers employed in the republic's enterprises. The author of these lines witnessed the indignation that this unscrupulous publication caused among Vietnamese workers. There is no need to explain the effect this has on the atmosphere in an international collective.

And what annoying minor misunderstandings arise among young Vietnamese men and women that could easily be avoided! The reasons are ignorance of the Russian language and unfamiliarity with the city in which they are working. Yet these are not so very difficult to remedy.

For instance, each Vietnamese arriving at a Soviet enterprise could be given an "information packet." It would contain a concise Vietnamese-Russian phrase book containing the most essential phrases and production terms; a city map indicating the location of the enterprise and the hostel; a short description of the enterprise and its labor traditions; and the names and positions of the people with whom the Vietnamese would most often be in direct contact.

It would be a good idea for all Vietnamese workers to be given a table to decipher the numerical code defining types of payments. At the moment: "We do not understand what certain figures on our pay stubs mean," Vu

Chuong Lam and his comrades from Volgograd complain. "When our group leader asked for these to be deciphered at the accountant's office, he was refused."

At most enterprises it is the deputy director for cadres and the engineer working with the SRV emissaries who look after the Vietnamese. A great deal depends on the attitude of these people. If they are intolerant of different opinions and any show of independence from the people under their charge, then both work and mutual relations will suffer.

Needless to say, we also have many positive examples. Just take the Yaroslavl motor plant. Using the "trial and error" method, people there have gradually developed routines for teaching basic Russian. During lessons, the Vietnamese are often joined by their future shop mentors, who help them to learn a basic vocational vocabulary.

Whereas in the first years the newcomers bought their working clothes (all in one design, and sometimes even one size) wholesale, now they visit stores on their very first days along with their Russian teacher, select and size their own clothes, then take the goods while a plant representative pays for them. It is becoming standard practice to set up international teams and to make Vietnamese their leaders. When the psychological climate in the collective is good, production results will follow, and earnings will be high.

Recently, the attention paid to Vietnamese workers' problems by party and trade union organs and managements at enterprises has increased markedly. A 2-day seminar of trade union committee chairmen at Soviet enterprises accepting Vietnamese citizens for vocational training and work has just been held in Moscow. The discussions were trenchant and candid. The conclusion drawn by the participants was unanimous: The time has come to radically increase the responsibility of management and trade union organs for the exemplary organization of the work and leisure of the envoys from the distant heroic country.

Vocational training and work by Vietnamese in our country should fully correspond to the marvelous traditions of international friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation on which relations between the fraternal parties, states, and peoples are based.

Near East & South Asia

Soviet Civilian Advisers Begin Afghan Withdrawal

BK2012120788 Hong Kong AFP in English
1147 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Islamabad, Dec 20 (AFP) - The Soviet Union has started to withdraw civilian advisers from Afghanistan, with the first group leaving for Moscow in three flights last week, Western diplomats here said Tuesday.

"We do not know how many remain, but there are rumours that all will be gone by the end of December," one diplomat said. The advisers left in special Aeroflot flights shortly before the first snows hit Kabul three days ago, they said.

Moscow has never revealed how many advisers it had in Afghanistan, but observers have estimated them to have been in the thousands. The pull out is part of Soviet pledges made under the Geneva peace accord of April 14.

The accord, signed by Afghanistan and Pakistan and guaranteed by Moscow and Washington, calls for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from the central Asian State by February 15 1989.

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and its troops have stayed helping a friendly government against attacks by U.S.- and Pakistani-backed rebels. Western estimates put Soviet troop strength before the accords at 115,000, but half of them were withdrawn by August 1988.

The diplomats said they also expected a 10 to 15 per cent reduction in forces by the end of this month, with the remaining troops being able to pull out in two weeks.

The Soviet military hospital in Kabul is also being handed over to the Kabul regime and some of its staff has already left, they said.

Soviet sources confirmed that Soviet Embassy strength has been reduced to around 100 staff and that there were no Soviets left Microryan area reserved for diplomats. [sentence as received] Its former residents have either been withdrawn or re-housed in the embassy compound for transportation back home, they added.

The diplomats also said that pessimism had set in among members of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) following direct talks between Moscow and Afghan rebel leaders in the Saudi hill resort of Al-Ta'if two weeks ago.

Afghan Government leaders were not included in the talks and the rebels have not shown any sign of willingness to include the PDPA in a future government.

Despite official support for the Al-Ta'if talks, "the party is naturally worried that the Russians are about to sell them down the river," adding that the departure of Afghan President Najibullah from the leadership "may now be not far off."

Mr. Najibullah is expected to leave for Paris for a conference on chemical warfare on January 5 or 6, the diplomats said.

A diplomat said one Afghan deputy minister had said "the regime would accept any solution which did not require all party members to be exiled to the USSR."

Up to 1,500 PDPA members and their families have left Afghanistan since May, mainly for India, Pakistan and the Soviet Union, the diplomats said.

Muhammad Mansur Tahiri, an Afghan diplomat on his way to a posting in Laos, recently defected with his family while in New Delhi, they said, adding that the Afghan Embassy unsuccessfully tried to press the Indian Government to hand him back.

The diplomats said they had unconfirmed reports that former Justice Minister and Afghan Ambassador to the United Nations Hakim Tabibi, now living in exile in the West, is being considered as a possible coalition head of state.

Afghan Foreign Minister Stops Over in Moscow

LD1912173588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Dec (TASS)—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil arrived in Moscow today on his return to Kabul from Geneva, where he took part in the UN General Assembly debate on the Palestine issue.

Rajiv Gandhi Official Visit to PRC Praised

OW2012104588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1055 GMT 19 Dec 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] The official 5-day visit of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to China began today. This is the first such visit by the head of the Indian Government to China in more than 3 decades. Therefore, it is quite understandable that in India, as indeed elsewhere, there is much hope that the Beijing talks will contribute to the cause of strengthening peace and security in Asia, as well as normalizing relations between the two largest Asian states.

Let me remind you that the border dispute, which in 1962 escalated into an armed conflict, has for a long time cast a shadow on Indo-Sino relations. Talks on the border issue have been going on for some time. Eight rounds of such talks have been held, but as yet, no results are apparent.

India now hopes that Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Beijing will provide a new impetus to Indian-Chinese relations, toward normalization and the development of cooperation. The following is the opinion voiced by Natwar Singh, India's minister of state for external affairs. He said it is extremely necessary that the process of decreasing tension—a process which is presently taking place throughout the world— should also begin in our region. India and China, too, must work for the sake of a new future. Singh further emphasized that the visit of the Indian prime minister to China will give rise to the start of the dialogue process between the two countries which, in the long run, will lead to the solution of the border issue.

It would be unrealistic to expect that one such summit meeting is capable of resolving the border dispute. However, this visit will facilitate the strengthening of trust between the two countries and the broadening of bilateral contacts in the economic, cultural, and other sectors. It will also allow the leaders of India and China to exchange views on pressing international problems.

Parliamentarians Continue Middle Eastern Tour

Conclude Damascus Visit

PM1612154388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Concluded"]

[Text] Damascus, 15 Dec—A delegation of the USSR parliamentary group headed by R.N. Nishanov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, which was in the Syrian Arab Republic 12-15 December at the invitation of the Arab Parliamentary Union, has concluded its visit to Syria. The delegation had discussions with 'A. Burawi, general secretary of the Arab Parliamentary Union, met with 'A. Qaddurah, speaker of the Syrian Arab Republic People's Assembly, and visited the city of Al-Qunaytirah—which was barbarously destroyed by the Israeli occupiers—and laid a wreath at the monument to the fallen heroes.

At a final news conference for local and foreign journalists, the head of the delegation spoke about the visit's objectives and described the results of talks between the Soviet parliamentarians and the leadership of the Arab Parliamentary Union and the Syrian Arab Republic People's Assembly.

Today the Soviet visitors had a meeting with Syrian Foreign Minister F. al-Shar'. A frank conversation took place which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere and which covered questions of the contemporary situation in the world and especially in the Near East, and of the further development of the relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and the Syrian Arab Republic. The sides were unanimous in their opinion of the need to intensify efforts aimed at unblocking the process of a settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the practical steps to convene an international conference on the Near East with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO.

They noted with gratification the strengthening collaboration between the Soviet Union and Syria in the international arena, a collaboration based on a community of views on key contemporary questions which long ago extended beyond the framework of bilateral relations and which has been transformed into an important factor for the strengthening of peace and international security, primarily in the Near East. In this context the sides emphasized the importance of continuing the practice of consultations and exchanges of opinions at different levels on contemporary topical problems and the situation in the region.

F. al-Shar' expressed profound gratitude for the multifaceted Soviet-Syrian cooperation and declared Syria's desire to further develop the relations based on the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the Syrian Arab Republic.

The head of the Soviet delegation expressed the Soviet people's sincere feelings of sympathy and respect for the courageous and industrious Syrian people, and confirmed that the Syrians' struggle for the consolidation of political and economic independence and for the upholding of their legitimate rights and interests enjoys and will continue to enjoy the invariable support of the Soviet Union.

The USSR parliamentary group delegation today departed for Jordan.

Holds Talks in Amman

PM1912163588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under general heading: "Interparliamentary Ties"]

[Text] On 15 December the USSR parliamentary group delegation led by R.N. Nishanov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, arrived in Amman from Syria. In the Jordanian capital the members of the delegation met with A.K. al-Lawzi, speaker of the Jordanian National Assembly Senate, and other members of Senate.

During a conversation A.K. al-Lawzi conveyed deep condolences on behalf of King Husayn and all the Jordanian people in connection with the earthquake in Soviet Armenia. He said that on instructions from King Husayn the Jordanian Government has sent two aircraft loaded with medical supplies to the USSR to help the victims.

During their discussion of current international situation the two sides noted the coincidence of the Soviet and Jordanian positions on topical international problems and their mutual desire to help to strengthen recently observed positive trends.

The participants in the meeting devoted particular attention to the development of the situation in the Near East. They noted with satisfaction that the latest constructive decisions made by the Palestine National Council have created a favorable atmosphere for advancing the cause of a just Near East settlement. In this context they underlined the urgent need to focus the efforts of the world community on the practical preparation and holding of an international conference on the Near East with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO, and also the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. The Soviet and Jordanian parliamentarians voiced support for the Palestinian uprising in the occupied Arab territories.

Ends Jordanian Visit

PM2012120788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interparliamentary Ties"]

[Text] Amman, 19 December—A USSR parliamentary group delegation headed by R.N. Nishanov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, paid an official friendly visit to Jordan 15-18 December at the invitation of the National Assembly of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The delegation is touring a number of Arab countries at the invitation of the Arab Parliamentary Union.

The delegation was received by King Husayn of Jordan, Crown Prince Hasan, and Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i. Meetings and conversations were held with members of Jordan's National Assembly.

The Jordanian side gave a high evaluation of the ideas and proposals put forward in the speech by M.S. Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session.

In the course of an exchange of opinions on the situation in the Near East, both sides reaffirmed that practical measures must be adopted with the aim of the very early launching of machinery for an international conference on the Near East, and of ensuring a situation in which the possibility of using it as a screen for partial and separate accords would be excluded.

The participants in the conversation agreed that a real settlement is not attainable without a just solution to the Palestinian problem, which is the core of the Near Eastern conflict, and without the equal participation of the PLO in all stages of the talks' process.

The participants in the conversations spoke in support of the Palestinian people's struggle to secure their national rights.

The two sides welcomed decisions adopted by the extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council [PNC] held in Algiers in November 1988. It was noted that they are a major contribution to the process of a just political settlement in the Near East based on the principle of an equal consideration of interests of all sides in the conflict.

The proximity of attitudes of the USSR and Jordan toward the settlement of regional problems was noted. The two sides welcomed the talks taking place in Geneva between Iran and Iraq on achieving a comprehensive, lasting, and honorable settlement of the conflict in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 598, and on the basis of a balance of interests. They underlined the importance of the talks taking place under the patronage of the UN secretary general, and expressed hope for its successful continuation and conclusion. Both sides spoke in support of the process of the normalization of the situation in Afghanistan, and spoke about the necessity for a strict observation of the Geneva accords by all sides.

In the course of talks, mutual satisfaction with the present state of Soviet-Jordanian relations was expressed, while the striving for their development and strengthening on the basis of accords reached in the course of the visit by the Jordanian king to the USSR in December 1987, was confirmed.

The Soviet delegation also met and had conversations with members of the PNC.

Nishanov Cited on Peace Process

JN1912130888 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 19 Dec 88 p 14

[By Khulud al-Rashaq]

[Text] Amman—Rafik Nishanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the Soviet parliamentary delegation that concluded a visit to Jordan yesterday, has said that his meeting with His Majesty King Husayn and Jordanian officials was fruitful and that he exchanged with them views on a number of international and regional issues, especially the situation in the Middle East.

In an interview with AL-DUSTUR prior to his departure from Amman for Baghdad, Nishanov said he also discussed the Iraq-Iran conflict, where the two sides emphasized the need for supporting peace efforts between the two countries.

As for the situation in Afghanistan, the Soviet side expressed its deep appreciation for the balanced Jordanian stand on this issue which was adopted in accordance with the directives of King Husayn.

Nishanov said: The situation in the Middle East was the subject of deep study. We stressed our viewpoint regarding the settlement of the Middle East. He said that the USSR is calling for the holding the international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all concerned parties, including the PLO and the UN Security Council permanent members.

Nishanov said: We support the resolutions of the emergency session of the PNC [Palestinian National Council] and we believe that they are a positive contribution to the process of a just political settlement in the Middle East.

Asked what should be done to bring about peace in the region, Nishanov replied: Political, economic, and cultural ties have connected us to the Middle East for many centuries. He added: Our joint struggle for establishing a just and strong peace in this region occupies a special position in the history of friendship between the USSR and the peoples of the Middle East. He said: The Middle East represents a chain of active political volcanoes which erupt from time to time. He noted that the Arab-Israeli conflict is the strongest of these volcanoes which might erupt at any moment.

He noted that the world is tired of such eruptions and that the exigencies of the current situation make it necessary to guarantee a secure life for the peoples of the Middle East and to surmount the region's crisis, which has existed for decades. He said that the international community's experiences in resolving regional conflicts indicate that this cannot be done through military means but rather through political means.

Nishanov described as useless the method of depending on brute force, the logic of confrontation, separate agreements, partial solutions, as well as imposing one party's will on the other.

He said Israel should ultimately realize that its security can only be guaranteed through a just settlement in the Middle East. The Soviet official explained that the logic of confrontation encourages the arms race, which leads to the obstruction of social plans and the impoverishment of the countries and peoples of the Middle East.

As for the principles for a just peace in the Middle East, Nishanov said that Israel must withdraw its forces from all the territories occupied in 1967, the Palestinian people must enjoy the right to self-determination, and all countries in the region must have guarantees of a free, independent life and of development.

Nishanov described the PNC's approval of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as important, particularly because the way to peace and peaceful coexistence between the Arabs and Israel is based on these two resolutions. He stressed that the way is now open for an urgent call to convene the international conference on the Middle East.

In responding to a question on the issue of an international conference, Nishanov said that the Soviet Union looks forward to an international conference with great optimism. He affirmed that the Soviet Union will exploit the international relations with other states to convince them to positively participate in the conference.

He explained that due to its belief in the principle of peoples' right to freedom of choice—given that this principle is one of the major principles of its foreign policy—the Soviet Union announced its recognition of the declaration of the Palestinian state, guided by the understanding that reaching a comprehensive settlement necessitates the establishment of this state.

He said that an international conference is the appropriate venue for negotiations and that the important thing now is to start the settlement process and negotiations in a practical manner.

He said that he believes that the role of the UN Security Council permanent member states is to provide assistance for the parties participating in the conference to help them move forward and to contribute toward reaching agreements acceptable to all participating parties.

He indicated that the Palestinian people's exercise of their right to self-determination does not undermine Israel's right to live in peace and within secure and recognized borders as stipulated by UN Security Council Resolution 242. He explained that the rejection of the Palestinians' right to self-determination is commensurate with statements rejecting Israel's right to exist.

As for the Soviet Union's perception of the powers to be assigned to the international conference and of the need to resolve the Middle East problem, Nishanov said that settling the Middle East crisis is an international political requirement due to the grave dangers threatening the world if this crisis remains unresolved and because all signs indicate that the Middle East conflict has begun to involve the threat of nuclear missiles.

He said that resolving the crisis needs an international effort and that no side can find a solution by itself. Therefore, he said, assessing any Middle East intiative must be based on how much such an intiative corresponds with the principles of justice as well as the interests of all parties to the dispute.

He said that this requires a complete Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, guaranteeing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and observing all regional states' right to live independently and freely.

He said that the PNC approval of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the rejection of terrorism in all its forms greatly contribute toward bolstering peace efforts in the region.

Responding to a question on the new U.S. stand toward the PLO, Nishanov said that the Soviet Union welcomed the U.S. statement, which is considered very positive. However, he said, this statement is only a beginning which has to be followed by steps in the same direction by the United States if it wants peace in the Middle East. He hoped that the new U.S. Administration will move in the same positive direction.

As for the issue of arms reduction in Europe and the European reaction to this, he said that while the Soviet Union does not have the full picture of the European reaction to this issue, the early reaction was positive. He hoped that the West European states will respond positively to this proposal.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angola, Cuba To Sign Troop Withdrawal Agreement
LD2012070288 Moscow TASS in English 2346 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 20 TASS—Angola and Cuba informed United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar that they would sign an agreement on December 22 providing for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angolan territory.

This decision, permanent representatives of Angola and Cuba at the United Nations pointed out in their letters to the U.N. secretary general, followed after South Africa pledged to start fulfilling Resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council on granting independence to Namibia on April 1, 1989.

The Angolan and Cuban representative asked the U.N. secretary general to recommend to the Security Council to create a group of military observers for monitoring the withdrawal of Cuban troops in accordance with the time-table coordinated by the two countries.

Adamishin Interviewed on Brazzaville Accord
LD1512180688 Paris International Service in French 0630 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Interview with Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, by reporter Farida Ayari in Brazzaville; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The guest on "Afrique Que Matin" is Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin, who followed the quadripartite negotiations throughout for Moscow, negotiations which as you know led to the conclusion of the Brazzaville agreement. Farida Ayari met him at the time of the signing and asked him first what the USSR's role in these negotiations was:

[Adamishin] We had good contacts with our Cuban and Angolan friends, with the Americans as mediators; a representative of the USSR was present everywhere that the negotiations took place. After the signing of this Brazzaville agreement, I can now say that all the sides consider that the USSR's role was not a passive one.

[Ayari] You are friendly with the Angolan Government, and you currently have good relations with the United States. Did you ask the Americans to halt their aid to the Angolan UNITA guerrillas?

[Adamishin] Naturally, this is an issue that took up a great deal of space during our contacts with the Americans. And I think they do not want to stop this aid to the groups fighting the legitimate government in Angola. We consider them a negative factor, and an immoral factor that does not help in finding a solution to the problems of Angola. Problems exist and the government of Luanda knows it; they want to solve these problems by peaceful means, and we shall support them in their efforts. I think that the U.S. policy toward UNITA does not facilitate things.

[Ayari] Do you think it will change in a positive way with the Bush administration?

[Adamishin] I would not like to make forecasts, but I am not too optimistic in this respect.

[Ayari] On the occasion of these quadripartite talks, you had the opportunity for contacts with the South Africans, particularly the last time at the beginning of December in Brazzaville when you had a conversation with Pik Botha. Has your attitude, Moscow's attitude, changed toward Pretoria?

[Adamishin] No, our present attitude toward the apartheid regime in South Africa is a negative attitude—as is that of everybody, of the majority of world public opinion. But we do perceive some positive changes in South Africa's policy, and an agreement of this nature is proof of such changes. I would like these changes to be really more rapid and more realistic.

[Ayari] There is the feeling on the continent that the USSR is no longer very interested in Africa: you leave the Angolans and the Cubans to work things out with the Americans and the South Africans; Chissano is actively negotiating with Pieter Botha. Apart from Mengistu in Ethiopia, one does not really have the impression of your being present.

[Adamishin] I can say firmly that we are not leaving our friends and we are working for the peaceful solution of these problems. It is not the case that we are withdrawing from these regions, and perhaps our interest is in fact larger than in the past because it is a more real, more constructive interest with more prospects for collaboration.

[Ayari] Could you elaborate, through precise examples, on this more constructive, more real, more practical (?response from Moscow)?

[Adamishin] It is very simple: If the war in Angola ends, then cooperation—which in most cases now is military, as we have to help Angola in its struggle—can become economic cooperation, which is constructive and devoted to the construction of Angola. This applies not only to the USSR but to the other socialist countries, and not only the socialist countries but also the Western countries—why not France—for joint ventures [preceding two words in English] together. I think that the peaceful prospects do not reduce our influence but rather increase it.

[Ayari] At a time of restructuring, is the USSR encouraging the African countries which were said to be socialist, and which are socialist, like Ethiopia, Angola, and Mozambique, to implement their own kind of restructuring? [Adamishin] But they are sovereign countries and they know how to do things themselves. But naturally, our example may be useful for some countries and may not be useful for other countries—we are not imposing it on anyone.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Madagascar

Premier Greets Delegation

LD1412095188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2038 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Antananarivo, 13 Dec (TASS)—The government and people of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar most resolutely support the new peace initiatives formulated in the UN speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This was declared today by Prime Minister Victor Ramahatra of Madagascar, as he received a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation which is in Antananarivo, led by Gaibnazar Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted]

On matters of bilateral cooperation, Madagascar's prime minister noted that it is developing successfully in many fields and is widely accepted by the Malagasy public. It is desirable, said Victor Ramahatra, that future trade and economic relations take into account the necessity of solving Madagascar's numerous problems—primarily the problem of foreign indebtedness. [passage omitted]

Gaibnazar Pallayev and other Soviet delegation members discussed the problems that restructuring is encountering, and the prospects for the developing bilateral relations were also touched upon.

Today, too, there was a meeting between the delegation and a group of People's National Assembly deputies, as well as Madagascar's Minister of Commerce Georges Solofson.

Received by Parliament Speaker

PM1412152588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation Trip"]

[Text] Antananarivo 13 Dec—Lucien Andrianarahinjak, chairman of the Malagasy Popular National Assembly, received a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is here on an official visit.

We assess highly the truly historic speech made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the United Nations, L. Andrianarahinjak stated during a conversation that took place. The people and government of Madagascar fully approve and support the Soviet peace initiatives.

Thanks to the Soviet Union's policy and to meetings between the leaders of the two great powers, it has proved possible to secure concrete results in the sphere of limiting nuclear arms, curbing the arms race, and settling regional conflicts, the chairman of the Popular National Assembly stressed. The USSR is taking effective steps to resolve the Afghan problem. Prospects for settling the situation in southern Africa have emerged. We must do everything necessary to ensure that the new political thinking triumphs in the international arena.

L. Andrianarahinjak pointed out that contacts between Soviet and Malagasy parliamentarians from the two countries have become a good tradition.

G. Pallayev provided detailed information on the revolutionary transformations in Soviet society and the implementation of the political reform. The work of party and state organs and all Soviet people, he stressed, is geared to fulfilling the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the tasks set by the CPSU at the current phase. The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation's visit illustrates the great significance that the USSR attaches to strengthening relations with Madagascar.

Invitation to Moscow Extended

LD1612182188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0945 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Antananarivo, 16 Dec (TASS)—The constructive proposals from the Soviet Union aimed at creating a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, that were put forward in the speech by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations, meet with support in all countries on earth that are in favor of peace and justice, Lucien Andrianarahinjaka, president of Madagascar's Popular National Assembly, has stated. He made a speech today at a reception in honor of the USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation headed by Gaibnazar Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is here on an official visit.

Madagascar fully supports the USSR's peace initiatives, since it is actively campaigning for social justice, the establishment of a new international economic order, and firm peace, without which mankind will not be able to achieve genuine development, Andrianarahinjaka pointed out. The Soviet initiatives concerning the setting up of a lengthy moratorium on the debt payment by the least developed countries, and the specific study of ways of settling the debt crisis at multilateral forums, are also extremely timely.

The president of the Popular National Assembly noted that the people of Madagascar are making great efforts to develop the national economy, because social justice and equality are only possible given a firm national economy.

Gaibnazar Pallayev said in reply that the Soviet Union is convinced of the need to develop friendly Soviet-Malagasy relations and continue the political dialogue. Interparliamentary meetings at different levels are intended to promote this to a great extent. He expressed the hope that the delegation's visit will contribute to strengthening mutual understanding between the peoples of the USSR and the Democratic Republic of Madagascar.

On behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet the head of the Soviet delegation conveyed an invitation to the Popular National Assembly of Madagascar for a delegation from it to pay an official visit to the USSR at a mutually convenient time. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

President Meets Delegation

LD1712102088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Antananarivo, 16 Dec (TASS)—Didier Ratsiraka, the president of Madagascar, today received a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, led by G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is here on an official visit.

The Madagascar president rated highly the new peace initiatives set out in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations, including the proposals on settling the debt problem of "Third World" countries. An exchange of views took place on matters of bilateral cooperation. D. Ratsiraka expressed satisfaction with relations between the two states. He conveyed deep condolences to the Soviet people in connection with the catastrophic earthquake in Armenia, which claimed tens of thousands of human victims.

Mauritius Governor Receives Soviet Delegation

PM1912163488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Guests of Mauritius"]

[Text] Port Louis, 18 Dec—Veerasamy Ringadoo, governor general of Mauritius, has received a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation which is here on an official visit, headed by G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the United Nations is a great event in international politics, V. Ringadoo noted in the course of the talk that took place. True peace can only be achieved by destroying weapons.

We are watching with great interest the restructuring in the Soviet Union, and we wish the Soviet people success in resolving their tasks, V. Ringadoo stressed. He expressed profound condolences in connection with the earthquake in Armenia.

On the same day the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin monument in Port Louis.

Astrauskas, Delegation Arrive in Kenya

LD1012225488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1432 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Nairobi, 10 Dec (TASS)—A Soviet delegation headed by Vitautas Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived today in the capital of Kenya for the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the independence of that country. At Nairobi International Airport the delegation was met by Josephat Karanja, vice president of the republic, and by Robert Ouko, minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation.

Burkinabe Ambassador Arrives in Moscow 13 Dec

PM1412102188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Anitan Jonas Ye, the ambassador of Burkina Faso to the USSR, arrived in Moscow on the 13th of December.

Army Chief Grinkevich Tours Nigeria

For Nigerian reportage on the visit of Colonel General Dmitriy A. Grinkevich, Army chief of staff, to Nigeria, see the 12 December and 19 December issues of Sub-Saharan Africa DAILY REPORT.

East Europe

Zaykov, CSSR's Stepan Exchange Speeches

PM1512103588 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 p 1

[MOSTASS correspondent B. Shestakov report under the rubric "Prague Festival in Moscow": "The Warmth of Fraternal Meetings"]

[Excerpts] On 5 December M. Stepan and members of the Czechoslovak delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath as a tribute to the memory of the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. A wreath was also laid at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

The wreath-laying ceremony was attended by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and other officials.

A meeting took place between between L.N. Zaykov and M. Stepan.

In the course of their conversation, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, it was emphasized that the coincidence of the aims of restructuring and renewal, and the unity of the political course of the CPSU and the CPCZ, are the basis of the joint achievements of our peoples on the path of building socialism.

L.N. Zaykov briefed the guests on the work of Moscow Communists in the practical implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. M. Stepan spoke about the work and tasks of the Prague party organization at the current stage of the Czechoslovak society's renewal.

The meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by J. Rehorek, Czechoslovak ambassador to the Soviet Union.

In a festive atmosphere a treaty [dogovor] was signed on the further development of cooperation between Moscow and Prague party, soviet, trade union, and youth organizations and labor collectives. It is aimed at the expansion of collaboration between the two fraternal capitals in resolving topical problems of socioeconomic, scientific, and cultural development.

[passage omitted]

The ceremonial opening of the Prague festival in Moscow turned into a vivid celebration of the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the USSR and Czechoslovakia and the fruitful cooperation between the two fraternal capitals.

Representatives of the Moscow public, labor collectives, and figures from the sphere of science and culture gathered in the State Central Concert Hall decked out with the state flags of the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Those present also included the official delegation of the city of Prague, ambassador J. Rehorek, and other Czechoslovak guests.

The state anthems of the USSR and Czechoslovakia were played.

L.N. Zaykov addressed those present. Moscow and its inhabitants greet the envoys of the city of Prague, the capital of the CSSR, with feelings of profound sympathies and fraternal friendship, he said. Muscovites have thrown the door of their home wide open to their dear guests, wishing them "Welcome!"

The Prague Festival in Moscow, just like the Moscow Festival in Prague, is always an important event in Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, and convincing evidence of the indestructible friendship between our peoples.

Its historical roots run deep. Our friendship was tempered in our joint struggle against fascism and was strengthened and developed during the years of socialist building.

In recent years qualitatively new areas have been added. New forms of cooperation are developing, production sharing is being established, joint enterprises are being set up. Our scientists and engineers are pooling their efforts in resolving key problems in the sphere of scientific and technical progress. Ideological cooperation is strengthening. Cultural exchanges are being stepped up.

These are the signs of the times, the signs of the profound processes of the restructuring of sociopolitical relations and socioeconomic transformations which are under way in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Since the 27th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress, much useful experience of mutual interest has been accumulated in the practice of socialist building in our countries. We are using it more actively than before, and this can be seen in the specific results which are being produced.

Today a new treaty of friendship and cooperation between Moscow and Prague has been signed. It is based on the further enhancement of collaboration between party, soviet, and social organizations, and labor collectives, in resolving topical problems of socioeconomic, scientific, and cultural development.

The Prague Festival in Moscow will include many events. However, their main merit lies in the unique opportunity for live, direct contacts between people. I am confident that this will provide Muscovites and many of the capital's guests with a unique opportunity to feel the mood, and learn about the joys and cares of the Czechoslovak working people.

You, our esteemed Czechoslovak guests, will also be able to better sense the rhythm of our lives, having visited labor collectives and met Muscovites during these days.

Our people are currently busy with practical work to implement the broad political reform outlined in the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Practical action and organization of life in a new fashion are moving into the forefront. A most important stage in this respect was the recent party Central Committee plenum, and the USSR Supreme Soviet session which ended literally a few days ago. Taking the results of the nationwide discussion into account, the session examined and adopted Laws on Elections and on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution. They give a new and powerful impetus to the process of democratization of the Soviet society, which is entering a new, complex, and highly responsible stage of restructuring.

It is possible to note with satisfaction today that the cooperation between our capitals and their party organizations is also actively contributing to the restructuring effort and the renewal of all sides of life. There is nothing rigid about our restructuring today; it is in a state of constant development, creative reinterpretation of accumulated experience, and a quest for unorthodox approaches to the solution of new crucial tasks. This will be further promoted by our current joint friendship festival.

L.N. Zaykov declared the Prague Festival in Moscow opened.

M. Stepan delivered a reply speech. On behalf of the participants in the Prague Festival in Moscow, he cordially thanked Muscovites for their very warm welcome.

Each of our meetings brings much that is useful for both sides, the speaker continued. In the course of frank discussions and exchanges of experience we always mutually enrich each other and contribute in this way to the achievement of our common aims. On this occasion we came to Moscow in a state of special excitement. After all, it has become the center of revolutionary renewal which is being attentively followed by the whole world. The process of restructuring offers much inspiration also for Czechoslovak Communists. We are traveling together along the path of profound economic and political transformations.

During the years of building socialism, Czechoslovakia has achieved weighty successes in the material and spiritual sphere. However, to rest content with what we have achieved would mean to create a breeding ground for stagnation. Therefore the CPCZ has embarked on a resolute course toward profound economic, political, and social reforms.

Prague Communists are concentrating their efforts on further developing the capital and improving its moral climate. These aims have found a concrete expression in the decisions of the city CPCZ conference, which have won the support of the National Front.

The conference decisions set us the aim of modernizing Prague's economy and developing and qualitatively renewing the service sphere, trade, and municipal transport. Attention to the city's ecology—a sphere beset with many problems—has increased.

The inhabitants of Prague have accepted this program and highly appreciate its first concrete results. The process of democratization of the political and social life is a great help. The CPCZ course has the support of the working class, the creative intellitentsia, and working and student youth.

The experience of our Soviet friends is a source of support, inspiration, and specific examples for us. We are drawing on the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference during our preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, and the drafting of the new CSSR Constitution to further improve the political system, deepen the democratic principles, and ensure further progress in the social, economic, and cultural spheres. We actively support the USSR's foreign policy line.

The new stage of the revolution which our countries are entering will make even greater demands on our cooperation. Here, too, new content and new approaches, comradely frankness and a focus on specific issues are needed. The current Prague Festival in Moscow will be an important milestone on the path to the further development of the indestructible Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship.

The soiree ended with a gala concert in which leading Czechoslovak artistes took part. Meetings between labor collectives, party, soviet, and economic workers, young people, and trade union activists will be held in Moscow during the next 5 days. Participants in an ideological seminar will discuss topical questions of renewal. There is a varied range of cultural events, including exhibitions and concerts, performances by leading Prague theaters, and screenings of new movies created at the Barandov film studios.

CPCZ Central Committee Personnel Changes Noted

PM1912161188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "In Preparation for Congress"]

[Text] Prague, 15 Dec—A CPCZ Central Committee Plenum began work here today. Addressing the plenum, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, put forward a proposal to convene the 18th party congress. This will open 10 May 1990, that is, 1 year ahead of schedule. Explaining this proposal, M. Jakes stressed that important changes have occurred recently within the party and society, and in many respects quite new tasks, demands, and problems are emerging, and these must be discussed by the congress.

Speaking about the most important international political events of the past few days, M. Jakes stressed that M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech, and his talks with the incumbent U.S. President and the President-elect, were indisputably the main event. In accordance with the socialist countries' joint line, the Soviet leader presented new foreign policy initiatives—a program for further deepening the process of improving international relations and consolidating trust between states and peoples. The CSSR fully supports this program.

The general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee read out letters at the plenum from V. Bilak and J. Kempny asking to be relieved of their duties in the CPCZ leadership. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium recommended that the plenum satisfy these requests.

In connection with the reduction of the party Central Committee apparatus, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium recommended that M. Beno be relieved of his duties as secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee in connection with his transfer to other work. M. Jakes expressed gratitude to all these comrades for their selfless labor within the party for the good of the homeland and for socialism.

'Difficulties' in Joint Czechoslovak Ventures

AU2012110488 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
10 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview with Konstantin Katushev, CPSU Central Committee member on the staff of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, by Bratislava PRAVDA Moscow editor V Jancura: "Such a Lot of Work Involved in Restructuring Cooperation! K. Katushev: Independence Primarily Means Responsibility"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] The impact of basic changes in the management system of Soviet foreign trade is also felt by relevant organizations in the CSSR that are suddenly confronted by hundreds of ministries, associations, and enterprises which have acquired the right to engage in export and import operations. At the same time, a new "umbrella" organization has been operating in Moscow for almost 1 year—the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. We spoke with its main representative, CPCZ Central Committee member Konstantin Katushev.

[Jancura] Comrade Minister, what stage has been reached by the reform of the USSR's foreign economic relations?

[Katushev] The restructuring of our foreign economic relations is proceeding in line with our original intentions, as required by the tasks of "large" restructuring in the life of our entire society—it proceeds in the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th CPSU Conference. [passage omitted]

[Jancura] What has changed because of this reform?

[Katushev] We have set up the organizational and legal prerequisites for our production enterprises to do business on foreign markets. We began by authorizing only a few enterprises and branches to engage in such activities, and later increased their number; certain measures will become valid at the beginning of next year, enabling practically all producers (including cooperatives) to sell their products abroad—either directly, via the foreign trade organizations of branch ministries, or through our own specialized ministry. [passage omitted]

[Jancura] Your ministry emerged from the former USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, but it was not a mere change of name. Do you think your people find work easier or more difficult than 1 year ago?

[Katushev] Far more difficult. In fact, apart from the purely operational export-import activities, we also provide many other services for our partners (investment services, etc.). Our ministry's main job is to regulate the ramified system uniting various producers and ministerial branches; our mission is to check on (and provide for) the assertion of higher state interests in their activities. Apart from that, we see to the education of experts for foreign trade firms within enterprises and ensure the establishment of favorable conditions for their foreign economic activities; we look for suitable sales openings, provide information about the situation on foreign markets, and so forth. [passage omitted]

[Jancura] How far can the decentralization of foreign economic activities go, if the principle of a state monopoly in foreign trade is to be preserved? Are you not afraid that excessive independence here could put the enterprises and associations beyond central control?

[Katushev] The limits which you obviously have in mind are given by our goals and tasks, by the limits of long-term plans for developing the USSR's foreign economic relations. Do not forget that our country continues to plan these relations; although in planning them, we limit the number of indicators and also change their contents, we do not tolerate arbitrariness, and even less anarchy, in this respect. Moreover, the enterprises have already begun to feel that more independence also involves (and primarily so) more responsibility. What can you do, freedom can be a heavy burden....

[Jancura] How do you assess the current state of Soviet-Czechoslovak economic cooperation? What about the problems which are increasingly cropping up in this cooperation?

[Katushev] Our cooperation has been successfully developing for many decades; at the same time certain shortcomings have cropped up. Historical developments have led to a situation whereby we mostly exchange finished products, devoting far less attention to production cooperation. The present difficulties obviously make it essential to change the structure of our trade, particularly because of the change in the external economic conditions (for instance, fuel and raw material prices have dropped, limiting the USSR's possibilities for purchasing Czechoslovak goods). The volume of mutual deliveries has remained the same, but their value has changed. Soviet goods have become cheaper—and we have to balance out our relations so as not to impair the development of the economies in our two countries.

[Jancura] It is said that economic cooperation must be imbued with a new quality, that higher, more effective forms must be used. But obviously here, too, the way from words to deeds is long. Why is the emergence of joint Soviet-Czechoslovak enterprises connected with such difficulties? At times it seems that this process is more complicated than the foundation of analogous enterprises with the Western partners....

[Katushev] Yes, how can one explain this seemingly anomalous situation? The development of economic relations between our two countries, and between socialist countries in general, the large field of mutual deliveries on the basis of specialization within the framework of CEMA, and the socialist division of labor, have seemingly reduced the scope for joint business ventures. Still, today we are striving to find projects for large production cooperation and reassessing possibilities—particularly the expediency of setting up joint firms on this basis. Naturally, the main field of such activities is offered by modern technologies. [passage omitted]

[Jancura] Thank you for the interview, Comrade Minister.

Runway Service Held for Deceased Yugoslav Airmen

PM1612135588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[Report by Captain 2d Rank V. Kocherov: "Memorial Service at Airfield"]

[Text] The runway was covered in snow. There were seven zinc coffins, draped in the SFRY national flag, containing the remains of Yugoslav military airmen—Lieutenant Colonel Predrag Marinkovic, Major Vladimir Ercic, Captain Milenko Simic, Lieutenant Colonel Milan Micic, and Warrant Officers Borishi Moshurovich [name as transliterated], Milisav Petrovic, and Jovan Zisov—killed in an air crash near Yerevan 4 days earlier. A solemn honor guard was drawn up. This was the scene we beheld at Sheremetyevo Airport yesterday morning.

The memorial service on the runway was opened by Colonel General of Aviation L.L. Batekhin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Air Force. Words expressing the deep sorrow felt by the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples and servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces were conveyed in the speeches delivered by Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and deputy defense minister of the USSR, Milan Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR, and E.A. Aykazyan, permanent representative of the Armenian Council of Ministers at the USSR Council of Ministers.

Those who came to bid farewell to the deceased included the following: Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev; V.M. Nikiforov, USSR deputy foreign minister; officials of the SFRY Embassy in the USSR; and generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Funereal music was played and the Yugoslav Air Force AN-12 plane carrying the bodies headed for home.

Bulgarian Central Committee Changes Effected

PM1912161188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "BCP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Sofia, 15 Dec—A BCP Central Committee plenum completed its work here 14 December. Its participants discussed and approved a report by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, "On the Further Practical Implementation of the July Strategy for Restructuring Bulgarian Society."

Based on the report's analysis and conclusions and an exchange of opinions, the plenum stressed that the main thing now is to secure a breakthrough in the practical implementation of the July concept and clear the way for reform along the whole front.

The plenum approved a report on the draft plan for the country's scientific, technical, and socioeconomic development and the draft budget for 1989.

The plenum examined an organizational question. Dimitur Stoyanov, Bulgarian minister of internal affairs, was elected member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Ivan Panev, first secretary of Sofia Grad BCP Committee, was elected member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo. Petko Danchev, chairman of the "Biotechnology and Chemical Industry" Association, and Stoyan Ovcharov, Bulgarian minister of the economy and planning, were elected candidate members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

At their request Ognyan Doynov and Stoyan Markov were relieved of their posts of member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo respectively.

The plenum removed Stoyan Mikhaylov and Chudomir Aleksandrov from the BCP Central Committee.

West Europe

Howe's 'Ambiguous' Stance on UN Speech Viewed

PM1912142788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Tomas Kolesnichenko "Viewpoint" Article: "Is It Necessary To Wait?"]

[Text] London—What is the view from London on the practical implementation of the new opportunities in Europe offered through the Soviet initiatives, which were put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session in New York? The speech itself aroused not only universal support among the British public and politicians but even, one may say, enthusiasm. M. Thatcher, for instance, has already expressed her "great approval" of our conventional arms reduction proposal twice now—the second time just recently. And that sounds very constructive. But what else has happened? After all, what is needed now are real, concrete moves and proposals in response.

Admittedly, the Labor Party did not keep us waiting. Its leaders have been openly stating that they see an opportunity for achieving mass support for their party's defense policy as early as next year. Martin O'Neil, former Labor shadow defense spokesman, believes that the Soviet initiatives will offer an opportunity for mutual agreement. He is supported in this by shadow foreign affairs spokesman Gerald Kaufman.

However, the actual decisions in London are taken nowadays not by those who are "in the shadows" but by those who at present firmly occupy "the place in the sun." British Foreign Minister G. Howe has given his first interview on this problem since the Soviet initiatives were announced. Judging from his statement, the outline of the "common European home," as official London sees it, has still not been clearly defined. Sir Geoffrey adopted a highly ambiguous stance. To be honest, it could be torn to shreds using the old criteria. But since we are talking about a new approach in diplomacy and changes in our thinking, let us try to show this in our journalistic analysis, too.

Well, while "welcoming the speech as a whole," Howe refuses on behalf of Britain and NATO "to immediately support its idea." Furthermore, he could be accused of mouthing platitudes on some points. Howe claims, for example, that the "vast Soviet superiority" in conventional armaments will remain in Europe, and that although the Soviet move to cut its forces in Europe by one-third is important, its superiority over NATO remains so great that there is still a "long, long way to go before the Soviet reductions reach a scale which we see as correct."

Furthermore, Howe believes that the Soviet initiative itself was prompted by the fact that NATO has been showing an "effective unity," which must therefore be maintained. It is possible to cite several negative comments by Howe. But there is something else—something very important which fits directly into the framework of the new thinking.

Howe does not reject the Soviet proposals out of hand, as often happened before. He merely urges "no haste" and "act cautiously" and "circumspectly." Well, that's the point of talks, to clarify positions, find sensible compromises, and act circumspectly. But the main thing is, after all, that the process of talks on real reductions in Europe has begun. And Britain, judging from Howe's interview, does not reject that idea, even though it does not find it easy to take a constructive stance.

This is especially true if you bear in mind that London has put particular pressure on its NATO partners recently by insisting on the modernization of the bloc's nuclear forces, so as to be able to "repulse" a "surprise attack from the Warsaw Pact." Now, when the myth of the "surprise attack" is evaporating right before their eyes, London and those people in NATO who supported the "modernization" plans on the grounds of "Soviet superiority" have had the chair pulled from under them. They urgently need a new "chair." At the moment Sir Geoffrey cannot find one, and so he repeats: Let us wait, let's not be hasty.

What you have here, in my view, is a purely domestic game in terms of West Europe. Britain is highly wary of the idea of the "common European home" also because it does not want to concede the right if not of "ownership" then of the "tenancy" of its own Western "apartment." The rivalry in the Paris-Bonn-London triangle is not subject to the ordinary laws of geometry, and is highly confused politically. Each one claims that his "corner" is the most important.

Britain, still relying on its "special relationship" with the United States, would like to hold sway in NATO. Not just to remain the pillar of Atlanticism but also to "draw" continental Europe closer to its islands. When in Washington recently, Thatcher told Reagan that there should be no "new Reykjavik," meaning that the United States should not resolve the problems of Europe and its disarmament with the Soviet Union alone.

But it is precisely now that real, concrete opportunities to resolve Europe's problems at home are emerging—without isolating the United States, of course. And to resolve them quickly, not by leaving them for "future generations." The question here is whether London will play an important and fitting role in this process or whether it will bide its time. Caution, circumspection, and a lack of haste are not bad qualities. But only when they do not lead to delay. Is it necessary to wait until the train is leaving the station, or will those still waiting on the "platform" be left—at best—with nothing but unreserved seats in the final carriage?

Lukyanov Hosts Cypriot Parliamentary Delegation

LD1912201488 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 19 TASS—Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party CC Politburo, first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received today a delegation of the House of Representatives of the Cyprus Republic led by its speaker Vassos Lyssarides.

The sides arrived at the conclusion that the new political thinking in international affairs was instrumental in promoting detente, peace and security, contributed to equitable and democratic international relations.

The Soviet side noted the Cyprus Republic's active participation in the Non-aligned Movement and the constructive role it plays within the group of neutral and non-aligned nations that are making a positive contribution to the development of the all-European process, to the solution of pressing disarmament problems.

The Soviet and Cyprus parliamentarians went to record for turning the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace, security and cooperation. They noted the similarity of goals pursued by Mikhail Gorbachev's Proposal to call a regional parliamentarian conference to promote progress towards a nuclear free Mediterranean without foreign armed forces and military bases.

The guests dwelt on the current stage in the solution of the Cyprus problem. The Soviet side reaffirmed its invariable support to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus, its approach of principle to the achievement of a just, peaceful and lasting settlement of the Cyprus issue in the interests of all Cypriot Greeks and Turks, peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean.

Both sides reaffirmed their mutual desire to go on expanding and consolidating the traditional friendly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Cyprus.

Italy's Senator Boffa Views Restructuring

PM1912150088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 50, 11 Dec 88 p 6

[Rome Institute of International Studies Director, Senator Giuseppe Boffa article: "Overcoming the Crisis"]

[Text] In order to size up perestroyka's positive effect on the Soviet Union's international image, one only need remember how anaemic that image used to be in the late 1970s and early 1980s, even among the world's progressive and leftist circles. Back then the USSR caused concern and anxiety among other nations. It was unquestionably a strong—especially militarily—country and, consequently, one to be feared and not trusted. At the same time, the Soviet Union was believed to be a weak and vulnerable country, paralyzed by a serious crisis and riddled with a multitude of problems which it was unable to solve and which were a taboo in the USSR (and thus doomed to remain unsolved).

This duality—international might and internal weakness—presents one of the greatest dangers for the country. I have always believed it to be one of the main factors that caused the weakening of detente, bringing about a serious deterioration in international relations and special worries at that time.

The USSR's complete loss of the ideological influence in the world earlier (and exclusively during the upswing periods of the revolution and the antifascist war) was another aspect of the crisis. Worse than that, the country was regarded as sealed off and isolated from the vital currents of thought and the circulation of ideas born in various regions of culture and international politics. Not a single inspiring idea emanated from the Soviet Union for many years. Interesting works of literature or art were extremely rare, and newspapers and magazines were sterile.

That negative image has undergone an about-face during the last couple of years. What caused that radical change and the present universal interest towards everything Soviet? It's interesting to note that such interest exists not only among democratically-minded circles.

No one thinks that Soviet society has already solved its critical problems. It has just come to grips with them, is engaged in an open discussion of them in a quest for alternatives which earlier seemed to be too formidable to even mention.

The final results are still unclear, but the aspiration to gain them is worthy of respect and represents the new mentality and, of course, attracts people's attention, because the country in question is so influential that no one can be indifferent when ways to further its development are concerned.

On the other hand, the correction of certain foreign-policy directions manifesting itself in the troop pullout from Afghanistan, and the INF Treaty—and being carried out within the context of the new ideas reaching out as far as the understanding of the growth of interdependence in the contemporary world and the downfall of certain ideological patterns formerly used to rationally explain world politics—alleviates many of the former concerns as to Soviet intentions, the more so that this policy finds an embodiment in proposals for a balanced and controlled disarmament.

Reflections on the country's past are also important. The absence of a reliable description of the country's postrevolutionary history heavily injured the USSR's prestige particularly in the sphere of culture. Indeed, the work aimed at recreation of that history is only beginning. At any rate, an unbiased research and a free discussion of the subject has already been on. Hopefully, all researchers will be granted an access to archives, the inaccessibility of which has become the object of derision by intellectuals in many countries.

After all, it is not just the new ideas, proposals and initiatives which make the present political and cultural debates in the USSR very much exciting. The ability to hear and understand ideas produced in other countries by West European left wingers, the non-aligned movement, scientists and intellectuals working in very different fields—an ability presently displayed even by the topmost Soviet authorities—is no less important. What I mean is the ability to take in ideas in order to consider or use them when elaborating one's own conceptions, rather than automatically adopting them.

All that illustrates the positive role the Soviet perestroyka is and will increasingly be playing for the rest of the world.

It would be useless to try to conceal the fact that the present crisis of the Soviet society has overshadowed socialist values and ideals. That was one of the most important factors enabling the conservative and neoliberal forces to launch a counteroffensive in the latest decade. The new road of development opened up by perestroyka can radically change the political and cultural climate in Europe, provided that key ideas of the new Soviet course get realized.

With regard to this, it is necessary to ensure a rapid advance of the Soviet economy and a "radical reform" promoting the economy to a level appropriate for a modern highly developed country. It is also important that the foreign policy should be able to offer adequate solutions for both global and regional problems of the contemporary world. However, the conscientious putting through of the deep-going democratization of the entire Soviet society, discussed as the main topic at the recent highest forums of the CPSU, remains of decisive importance.

The world has had several tough periods ridden by controversial tendencies, during the latest decades. Democratic ideas were steadily making their way and got ever more fully implemented in individual countries and in the world in general. The USSR remained, for too long, outside this tendency, which was one of the factors slowing down the country's progress. Democracy, peace and socialism will stand to benefit if the vast political and cultural potential of Soviet society takes up this tendency. The resulting benefit will not just be that we'll have yet another social model to be imposed on other nations for imitation. Social models and hegemonism have nothing in common with what the present drive for more democracy and socialism needs.

The inclusion of the Soviet Union into the universal democratization process would mean the country's fuller involvement in the international flow of information and ideas, as well as in the implementation of these ideas. As I see it, perestroyka has proved it to be quite possible.

Finnish Social Democrats Discuss CPSU Ties

PM2012102788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A delegation of party workers from Finland's Social Democratic Party [SSDP] headed by U. Iivari, the party's secretary, was in the Soviet Union 12-15 December at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation was familiarized with the progress of democratizing the activity and internal life of the CPSU and also the reform of the country's political system. Conversations took place at the CPSU Central Committee Party Construction and Cadre Policy and International Departments, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and Moscow's Leninskiy CPSU Raykom. The delegation visited the "Spektr" Science-and-Production Association.

The delegation members expressed satisfaction with the successful development of SSDP-CPSU ties and stressed that the new political thinking is opening up possibilities for deepening dialogue and broadening cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats in the interests of peace, disarmament, and the resolution of other global problems.

The philosophical and political substance of the speech made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the United Nations, U. Iivari stressed, strengthens even further trust in the Soviet Union and confidence in the Soviet leadership's determination to act for the good of all peoples.

On behalf of the SSDP leadership, U. Ilvari expressed profound sympathy to the Soviet people in connection with the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia.

Soviets To Publish West German Weekly

PM1612091488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[D. Gorbuntsov report: "VORWAERTS—'Forward'"]

[Text] A trial issue of the magazine VORWAERTS ("Forward"), an FRG political weekly, was presented at the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade yesterday. It was printed from films supplied from the FRG at the Chekhovskiy Printing Combine, and is already in the "Soyuzpechat" kiosks in Moscow, Leningrad, the capitals of the union republics, and other major cities, student centers, and settlements where many Germans live. Four of these trial issues will be published by the end of the year.

From the new year, under an agreement between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Dr H.-J. Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the weekly VORWAERTS, in a form identical to that printed in the FRG, will be publisehd regularly in our country with a print run of 10,000 copies.

VORWAERTS is one of the world's oldest social democratic publications. The first issue came out 112 years ago.

Restructuring and glasnost also presuppose the open flow of information, pluralism of opinion, and an end to the notorious "enemy image." The printing and free sale of VORWAERTS in the USSR will clearly serve these humane goals.

Latin America & Caribbean

Chilean Communist Party Announces Congress

Moscow Airs Part Three

PY1212174788 Moscow in Spanish to Chile
2100 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Report on news conference by PCCh spokesmen to release document calling 15th PCCh Congress, held in Santiago on 6 December; for parts one and two see the 15 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 24-28]

[Text] Today we continue to air the document calling the people to the 15th PCCh National Congress, which is already under way throughout the country, and which is aimed at achieving democracy through the unity of the people until final victory. The first point of the call, which was aired in our two previous programs, was about the regional and international situation.

Tonight you will hear the first part of the second point, entitled:

The Experience of the Popular Unity Government.

The installation of the Popular Unity government was the greatest historic achievement of the revolutionary forces since independence. The PCCh played a vanguard role among a vast sector of the working class, and the people, in this achievement. The installation of the Popular Unity government was the culmination of a process of many years and many forms of struggle through which our organization became a party of the masses. This process was the historic continuation of the Popular Front and the achievements of our political ideology and struggle, especially since 1952.

We made a correct diagnosis of the structural crisis affecting the Latin American countries and the end of a dependent capitalist development model. We also predicted the current political crisis in our country and the need for changes. We correctly defined the main enemies, such as imperialism and oligarchy, and we defined the nature of the Chilean revolution: popular, democratic, anti-imperialist and agrarian.

We also predicted the shortcomings of the reform programs to solve the crisis and the solutions to the serious problems affecting the majorities. We designed a plan to conquer the government according to the main forms of struggle which were already mature and which were necessary to achieve success. The plan was designed taking into consideration the Chilean situation, its class divisions, and its bourgeois democratic development.

This plan was originally defined by the party as a peaceful plan. Later, the plan was defined as a non-armed struggle based on the unity and mobilization of the people, and on the fact that some of the struggle was conducted with some violence and more or less serious confrontations.

For decades the PCCh, and other revolutionary and progressive forces, with the relevant participation of Salvador Allende, an outstanding social and national liberation fighter, strengthened the awareness of the masses about the need for profound changes, the contents of those changes, and the need for an open struggle to achieve those changes.

After long and fruitful work for the unity of the working class and the people, several necessary alliances for moving ahead were formed. These alliances were aimed at uniting unions, Socialists, Communists, and the Popular Unity. An important contribution to this policy was the understanding of the new aspects of the progressive and revolutionary principles emphasized by the Cuban revolution.

The victory of the Popular Unity government was also made possible because of the defeat of the anticommunist campaign that has always been present in the national life, and was exaggerated during elections when the issue of power first arose.

The instructions given by the 13th and 14th congresses of the PCCh showed that the party was right, that the working class was the center for unity and the driving force for revolutionary changes, and that the Popular Unity was the means to get a popular government.

In the economic aspect, the Popular Unity government implemented basic changes that were anti-imperialist, antioligarchic, and against the large land owners. It implemented measures of profound national meaning to create conditions for independent development and real solutions to the problems affecting the country.

In the social aspect, the government concentrated its efforts to satisfy the most urgent needs of the country. As never before the problems of health, food, education, and social security of the workers, youth, children, women, and lower sectors were solved.

The government of Salvador Allende nationalized the copper, iron, saltpeter, and coal mines, and cement production. The government nationalized 60 percent of the largest monopolistic enterprises of industry, distribution, and services, and 16 of the 18 national and foreign commercial banks. It took control of over 90 percent of credit, 90 percent of exports, and 60 percent of imports. It expropriated millions of hectares of arable land, more than double the land expropriated by the Christian Democratic Party administration.

The Allende administration also increased the participation of working people in the national income. It extended social security benefits to 725,000 Chileans, especially to independent businessmen who owned small shops. Education became a real concern of the state, which increased considerably the number of teachers. It also opened the doors of the university, creating a large cultural development that established closer links between popular creativity and the culture reserved for the elite.

During the Allende administration, unemployment was the lowest in Chilean history. The food supply and medical attention for the people improved. Every Chilean child received 1 liter of milk per day. The people and the poor sectors were building their own destiny. The government, like no other, gave impulse to the development of a real democracy. The working class took over responsibility in the central government by holding important positions in state companies and nationalized enterprises. The workers and their organizations reached an important degree of participation in the government decisions. The Mapuche Indians found solutions to their needs and their social conditions were improved.

In the international field Chile took an independent stand. It reestablished diplomatic relations with Cuba. It recognized the GDR. It opened relations with Vietnam and extended them to all the socialist countries. The government made its participation in the Nonaligned Movement more effective. It strengthened the process of regional integration for the defense of our interests in the face of arrogant imperialism and great capitalism. Important steps were taken for the peaceful solution of our border conflicts. Chile joined the states and governments, which at the international level, were advocating peace, independence, and the self-determination of people.

Moscow Airs Part Four

PY1312000488 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Imperialism and the internal reaction used all the resources and weapons at their disposal to overthrow the Popular Unity government. They shut off all international credits to this government. They suspended the supply of machinery and spare parts for the copper industry and established a partial blockade on its exports. They exacerbated the deterioration of the trade situation. Together with domestic sedition, they planned to destroy the economy and implemented a psychological war and a sabotage plan to generate the appropriate conditions for a coup d'etat.

On the one hand the government of President Salvador Allende was harassed by imperialism and the reactionary forces, and on the other hand it was constrained by the fact that it did not have full control of power due to the bourgeois democratic system that was seriously weakened by the unfavorable changes in the balance of power.

Nevertheless, our defeat can be attributed to our errors and the inability to solve the power problem, an essential matter in all revolutions.

(Deal Lark) stated the following in a past century, during the French Revolution: This revolution is developing because it has created a strong counterrevolution that forces it to employ all its forces and resources to be successful. This is the normal course of events.

In our case, because of a lack of full agreement between the government and the Popular Unity party, we did not take advantage of opportunities to disperse the counterrevolution. We ended up losing because of a lack of capacity and essential resources, and because we were simply not prepared to defend the Popular Unity government and establish the revolutionary process.

The Chilean revolution took a path that had not been explored in the past. It had to coordinate the fight for power from the top, the government, and from below, with the organized masses engaged in struggle. However, we did not discuss a full plan on how to make progress along this path toward the full conquest of power [words indistinct] with democratic revolutionary efforts.

As stated in the document prepared for the 15th congress, which we were unable to hold in late 1973, we upheld evolutionist concepts on how to attain full access to power, as well as an exaggerated appraisal of the economic struggle, and we overlooked the political-military aspects. We even underestimated the importance of the times the revolutionary process was experiencing.

We were tangled up with legalisms and excited over the peaceful development of the revolution. We did not take into account the Leninist theory that maintains that in times of revolution, the class struggle often leads rapidly to an open civil war. Therefore, we thought that certain ways and forms of struggle were to be followed, since our party leadership did not have a clear concept of what a military strategy meant and was not fully convinced of the need for it.

Problems related to the sole leadership of the process also contributed to the defeat. Since not all depended on us, we should have concentrated harder on the ideological-political struggle within the popular and revolutionary forces, to solve this problem and dampen the negative results and effects of the disagreements that stemmed from inside and outside the Popular Unity.

This is also related to the ability of the leadership's policy and methods to take into account the leftist and rightist deviations—which exist in any true revolution—and to fight the main concrete historical threat the popular movement faced, which was also present within the party. Strictly speaking, the leftist deviations reflected to a great extent the true problems that the leadership had not tackled or had solved in a poor manner.

We were influenced by the habits of bourgeois democracy, of parliamentarianism, and of the Chilean democratic evolution without any definite experience in the most decisive stages of the class struggle, as well as by the fact that we underestimated the bourgeoisie and its political parties and leaders, who in a time of revolution are capable of renouncing all their liberal democratic principles and siding with the counterrevolution in defense of the system and its interests. Regarding the Armed Forces, we did not fully understand what they represented and how they expressed their ideas.

The political doctrine was plagued by significant deficiencies. We did not take advantage of the possibilities of a theoretical contribution of the party as a whole or its intellectuals. Different and broader criteria regarding the contribution made by each party militant were proposed to the party leadership, and the party's life was enriched. We were among the first in Latin America to definitely support the Cuban revolution. However, we did not fully adopt, right from the beginning, its great ideals. We did the right thing in choosing our own individual way of struggle. Moreover, we did not change our belief that definite, acute forms of struggle—even military—are necesary for a revolution, no matter what way one may choose to start it, in order to succeed.

Our congress will analyze in depth all the revolutionary experiences gathered during the government of the Popular Unity.

The analysis must go beyond the 1977 Central Committee plenum that reached many important conclusions on the reasons for our defeat, but did not lay enough emphasis on the decisive importance of the right-wing deviations.

This is the end of the second point of the PCCh's call to its 15th congress, entitled: To restore and deepen democracy, the unity of the people until final victory.

The first point of the document which Escucha Chile is airing fully during its regular programs assessed the current events and the international situation. The second point, which we have just read, focused on the experience of the Popular Unity government. We will now read the third point of the document:

Third Point: The Establishment of Fascism and Its Counterrevolutionary Program

After the coup d'etat, the dictatorship, with the political initiative in its hands, unleashed open warfare against the people and installed the terrorist domination of big capital.

The reactionary forces have frequently risen up in arms. On 11 September 1973 this reaction was brutal and bloody. The ideologues and supporters of the violence practiced since then are the same people who in the last few years have been condemning the people every time they resort to force, a legitimate means of struggle and defense.

The government implemented a state of internal warfare, which is the basis of the national security doctrine, after a reorganization of the Armed Forces and the other state repressive organizations and the creation of specialized criminal organizations such as the DINA [National Intelligence Directorate] and later the CNI [National Intelligence Center].

The national security doctrine, introduced by U.S. imperialism, was declared the official doctrine of the Armed Forces, the state, and the government. Anticommunism and anti-Sovietism have been the main ideological and political arguments the dictatorship has used to commit the country to—according to them—the defense of Western civilization in a third world war that has already started.

The dictatorship sought to physically annihilate the cadres and militants of all revolutionary parties. It sought to destroy the popular movements and suppress all resistance. It systematically murdered, tortured, and built concentration camps. It implemented the monstrous practice of making people disappear, and it exiled thousands of patriots.

Measures were taken to outlaw and dissolve the political parties and the democratic social and popular organizations, and to conduct selective harassments.

The majority of the workers' achievements were wrested from them. A radical step backward was taken with regard to a great part of the profound changes implemented during the Popular Unity government.

State terrorism was and has been the mainstay of the new way of fascist domination throughout the country.

Liberally using his position as commander in chief of the Army, the main branch of the Armed Forces and the one with the greatest military—and thus political—weight, Pinochet has paved the way for the consolidation of fascism in power, that is, for the terrorist domination led by and for the benefit of the most ultrareactionary imperialist and oligarchic sectors.

The Armed Forces became the regime's mainstay and were guaranteed a tutelary role over the entire society.

The economic, social, and political model imposed within the coercive framework of the fascist state, which has put the country into a process of transferring Chilean interests to the imperialist transnationals, has had disastrous consequences for most Chileans.

Profound social inequalities have been established between most citizens and an ever-richer capitalist minority, whose main axis is the alliance between foreign capital in the country and the domestic financial oligarchy.

Thousands of our fellow countrymen have been pushed into unemployment, underemployment, or poorly paying jobs, condemning them to poverty and hunger.

Thousands of small-size producers and small- and medium-size craftsmen have been ruined or despoiled to benefit the monopolies and the economic groups. In sum, the fascist dictatorship has favored capitalist development in the country, promoting the process of concentration and centralization of capital. This was achieved through the excessive exploitation of the workers and the impoverishment of new levels of the population.

The contradiction between the interests of imperialism, the transnational corporations, and the domestic oligarchy, on the one hand, and the interests of an overwhelming majority of Chileans, on the other, has increased during this new phase of capitalist development.

This is the gist of the country's so-called modernization under the dictatorship.

The regime's economic policy has allowed foreign capital to regain control over a great part of the main economic and financial centers and services, increasing our dependence.

Four of the six largest economic groups currently belong to foreign interests: the Chilean tobacco company, (Ein Mafuz), the (Hold Cartel), and Bond. One-fifth of the ownership of the 50 leading Chilean corporations had been transferred to foreign capitals by 1987.

The foreign debt quadrupled between 1974 and 1985, and $1.372 billion had to be paid in interest in 1987 aone, causing a currency flight that is further deteriorating the people's standard of living.

Moscow Airs Part Five

PY1312234388 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] To restore and deepen democracy, the unity of the people until final victory. The PCCh calls people to its 15th National Congress. We will now discuss the third point of the document calling for the congress:

The Establishment of Fascism and its Counterrevolutionary Project [as heard]

The real value of the foreign debt has been increasing constantly. The government has been trying to hide this fact by selling national companies to foreign groups at very low prices. Privatization created new bases for the economic power of the oligarchy, whose members took control of the financial system of the social area companies [as heard] for half their prices, and recovered the banks for less than 70 percent of their total assets.

Through the last round of privatizations, the oligarchy obtained the ownership of banks that received state subsidies worth some $5 billion. After the 1981 crisis, the retirement funds administration and other companies, such as the telephone and telecommunications companies, that were still in government hands, were sold for one-third of their value.

Pinochet's dictatorship promoted capitalist development in the countryside by violently throwing 40,000 peasants off their settlements, by returning 28 percent of the lands expropriated during the Frei and Allende governments, and by auctioning off 32 percent of these lands that were then purchased by private businessmen.

For lack of adequate credit support, part of the 40 percent of the expropriated land that had remained in the peasants' hands was also purchased by the capitalist sector; the peasants who still own their land are constantly exploited by huge foreign capital.

Through the new law that governs the Indian communities, the regime has engaged in disintegrating the Mapuche and Huillich communities.

The large national and foreign capitals took hold of Chilean forests and of highly productive lands. They then started to control crop production, marketing, and exports. Through banks and intermediate monopolies, they completely dominated most of the agricultural and cattle-raising activities. Currently, they are also controlling the marketing of goods and technologies, the export and trade of agricultural products, the large agro-industrial companies, and huge plots of land.

As a result of the changes in the economy, important changes have occurred in the composition of society and in the relations between the different social classes. The dominant sector has expressed its common interests and become more homogeneous. The number of wage earners continued to increase and the number of workers employed in the production and services sectors is also increasing.

The dictatorship and its economic policy have reduced the number of permanent jobs and increased absolute unemployment, particularly in factories and industries. As a result, the number of occasional and temporary employment increased greatly, and a new system of contracting people for specific tasks that last a set period of time, and of contracting people for temporary jobs, has been introduced in Chilean society. A huge number of men, women, and youths were forced to start making their living as peddlers, to join the Minimum Salary Program (PEM), the Employment Programs for Heads of Household (POJH), and the Intensive Employment Program (PIM), or to earn their living by collecting garbage or other similar jobs.

A group of highly-qualified workers employed in the fields of information science, telecommunications, in the financial system, and in advanced industries has also appeared and developed. At the same time, the urban and rural subproletariat sector has increased, and is now in a stage of transition toward production or in a process of social disintegration.

The working class has become diversified and now has a more varied and complex structure. Apart from cyclic variations, from its large number, and from the changes in its composition, the working class continues to be the vital force of our national economy. Despite the repression that has weakened the labor unions, the proletariat is still the social class that differentiates the historic march from capitalism to socialism.

As a result of the economic model adopted, the standard of living of the workers and of the people has undergone ever-increasing deterioration in absolute as well as in relative terms, and the overexploitation of the worker has reached unprecedented levels. In real figures, unemployment, including the underemployed and those allegedly employed, amounts to 30 percent of the working force. Real salaries have decreased by almost 40 percent since 1972. More than 1 million retired workers now live on miserable pensions, and the country is now one of the four Latin American countries threatened with food shortages. Some 50 percent of families—more than 6 million Chileans—live in poverty. One out of every three families lacks good housing conditions. The housing sector has a shortage of 1 million homes. More than 300,000 families are threatened with embargoes, auctionings and the possibility of losing their homes in view of high taxes and mortages.

The people's health has become merchandise to be traded for profit. The budget assigned for the health sector has been reduced by 50 percent, and public hospitals continue operating without solving most of their professional, technical, and material difficulties.

The PCCh calls for its 15th Congress to restore and deepen democracy, and to unify the people until victory. The chapter being read refers to the establishment of fascism and its counterrevolutionary project.

The university financial system, and military intervention at the universities, have attempted to govern the social and political composition of the student class, and have made the cost of higher education acessible only to the wealthy sectors of society.

The municipalization of elementary and secondary school education resulted in the dismissal of thousands of teachers which, in turn, prevented more than half a million children and youngsters from being able to study, and has allowed the redistribution of resources to the detriment of the most needy sectors. The dictatorship holds a monopoly on television and controls most sectors of the media. As a consequence, it maintains a permanent campaign of misinformation and a psychological war against the opposition, particularly against those who resolutely struggle against it. The regime encourages anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, it conceals cases of human rights violations and justifies the war against the people. Human rights have been systematically trampled on through the abolition of the state of law, the violation of national sovereignty, and the suppression of the democratic political achievements.

Since 1973 thousands of our fellow countrymen have been murdered. Hundreds of thousands have been arrested for political reasons. The inhabitants of shanty towns have seen their homes violently raided. Some 1,000 Chilean citizens continue to be classified as arrested missing persons. Most Chilean families have been the victims of some sort of act of violence, intimidation, torture, or cruel and degrading treatment. Some 500 political prisoners are still being held in custody. Important achievements by the Chilean labor sector have been abolished or restricted, national labor organizations dissolved, and basic rights recognized by international law suppressed. A so-called labor program was implemented. This program has now become the Labor Code, that has definitely suppressed important achievements by the working class and has practically revoked the right to strike.

In sum, the fascist dictatorship has fully implemented a counter-revolution.

This is the end of point three of the PCCh's call to its 15th congress: To restore and deepen democracy, the unity of the people until final victory.

Moscow Airs Part Six

PY1412013988 Moscow in Spanish to Chile
2100 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Today we continue to air the document calling the people to the 15th PCCh National Congress. We begin by reading the fourth topic of the document entitled: The Development of the Anti-Fascist Struggle and the Party's Policy.

In the last few years we have tried to confront fascism by promoting the struggle, unity, mobilization, and cooperation of all opposition groups to choose between the present options: dictatorship or democracy.

We have never forgotten that our main enemy is the dictatorship. Ever since we formulated the policy of popular rebellion of the masses we anticipated that we were also proposing, in a single process, the overthrow of the dictatorship and the implementation of an advanced democracy. This process would be based on objective and subjective conditions by which a revolutionary crisis is created, in which the uprising of the people plays the main role, and which is led by our party and by other parties that agree with us.

Our party has been in the resistance and anti-fascist struggle from the very beginning, and has adapted its struggle to survive underground. We tried to incorporate new and audacious elements form the very beginning. Thes elements have played a decisive role in our party ascendancy in national politics.

The proletarian quality of the party was emphasized by the combative sacrifice of our comrades Victor Diaz, Mario Zamorano, Uldaricio Donaire, Jose Walden, Enrique Paris, Marta Ugarte, Fernando Ortiz, and many others; by the unfaltering resistance of PCCh youth leader Carlos Contreras Maluque; and the revolutionary attitude of numerous PCCh militants, worthy representatives of our people, while in concentration camps, jails, or while facing torture. They are an example to current and future Chilean generations.

We continue to insist before the other progressive and revolutionary groups on the need to maintain and broaden the resistance, and the need to organize the people. We have participated in all expressions of democratic struggle. This struggle paved the way for the creation of new democratic organizations and anti-fascist movements that include human rights organizations; women, youth, and student cultural associations; the National Union Coordinating Board, and others.

The world was shocked by the overthrow of President Allende and the terrorist atrocities committed by the counterrevolutionaries. The international community expressed their solidarity with Chilean democracy in a way hardly seen before in the history of mankind.

The dictatorship has been totally isolated in the last few years; it has been condemned in international forums and events.

This position has made it easier to defend and protect thousands of democrats in Chile, and has improved the situation of Chilean exiles, many of whom have been offered technical and professional training in their host countries.

We call on all anti-fascist and non-fascist sectors to form a common front to continue the struggle to end the dictatorship. We have made similar calls to join our efforts in this struggle, and to agree on a future democratic government, in three other documents. We want a joint government comprising all democratic sectors.

We are willing to negotiate and compromise to reach an agreement on the first two proposals, and we will not insist on participating in a future democratic government.

We made many mistakes in the early years of this dictatorship. We did not clearly perceive the depth of the counterrevolutionary program and we had a partial and mistaken impression of the regime. We thus incurred many tactical and strategic errors.

We expressed ourselves subjectively when we talked about the decline of the dictatorship, or when we said that its days were numbered. We did not perceive the importance of the PCCh as an indispensable basis for any broad unity or understanding. We expected too much from the democratic and bourgeois attitude of some people, particularly the Christian Democratic Party. We delayed an analysis of the defeat, and this attitude postponed a definition of our political plan of action.

Due to our lack of adequate experience and planning, we made mistakes in our underground activities, which resulted in fundamental errors that prevented us from fully safeguarding our party's integrity.

The August 1977 Central Committee Plenum made significant advances toward the unity and reorganization of the party. The plenum reiterated that we should participate in the struggle for liberation, and set new standards for the recovery of the party.

The plenum also discussed the lessons that had to be drawn from the defeat, particularly regarding the military problem. It urged a careful study and discussion of the new reality.

After the 1977 plenum, the party arranged the return to the country of an important number of comrades. The party was going through hard times following successive defeats that affected its work, particularly the leadership, after May 1976.

The leadership role was then assumed by teams of comrades that considered it their duty to carry out the required tasks. Members of the Central Committee and the political commission arrived in Chile to assist them inside the country. The bases were established for an underground political work.

The process of self-analysis and discussion that began after the 1977 plenum; the reorganization of the party executive committee operating inside the country; the progress in the anti-fascist struggle expressed through the demands for respect to human rights; the strikes at Goodyear, (Panal), Colbun-Machicura and El Teniente; the strengthening of the National Union Coordinating Board; and a series of cultural events, helped us formulate our policy of popular rebellion of the masses.

Despite the loss of heart among bourgeois opposition groups after the imposition of the 1980 Constitution and the temporary consolidation of fascism, the objective and subjective conditions for a jump forward in the anti-fascist struggle matured. A clear anti-fascist and democratic policy was needed in view of the failure of the left to guide the masses. This policy had to bring to center stage the struggle against the dictatorial institutional order, and include the possibility of ousting the regime by a mass general struggle, the use of legitimate violence, and other various ways of struggle.

Moscow Airs Part Seven

PY1512001888 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Radio Moscow is airing the complete text of the PCCh document that will serve as a basis for discussions at the 15th PCCh National Congress. The document's first point analyzed the current regional and international situation; the second point, the experience of the Popular Unity government; and the third point, the restoration of fascism and its counterrevolutionary project. Today we continue reading the document's fourth point: the development of the antifascist struggle and the party's policy.

The formulation of the policy of popular rebellion, announced on 13 September 1980 on the eve of the plebiscite that approved the fascist constitution, resulted from the analysis of our experience in the antifascist struggle up to that point and from the lessons we learned by ourselves and from others. The formulation of this policy forced us to recognize that the PCCh had a need and duty to play a political leadership role, including military aspects, aimed at toppling the fascist dictatorship. The formulation process also elicited a broad and profound internal debate within the party, a debate that awakened energy and potential, previously dormant. Through this debate, theoretical and political considerations were once and for all incorporated into the policy of popular rebellion, which sharpened the policy's revolutionary character.

The April 1974 National Conference and January 1975 party plenum ratified and developed the policy of popular rebellion, foreseeing a national uprising as its most probable outcome. The assimilation and implementation of the policy of popular rebellion by important sectors of the people gave rise to the hunger marches that bolstered the national protests. In turn, these protests helped to ripen important elements for a revolutionary situation, for a profound crisis in the dictatorship. Against the backdrop of a woeful economic situation, the crisis began to swell from the bottom, involving the majority of people struggling to defend their own interests.

Under those conditions, the PCCh and other forces believed it necessary to face up to the possibility of ending fascism and its system of government in 1986. The party set out to develop the subjective factor in order to successfully resolve the issue. Beginning in late 1986, the revolutionary situation receded, and important tendencies were realigned. Yet, the dispute for power continued under different conditions. As opposed to the revolutionary possibility, the reformist opposition set out to end the dictatorship through an agreement with the regime, accepting the electoral system set up by Pinochet and putting social mobilization aside. The level attained by the mass struggle in the implementation of the PCCh policy of popular rebellion required theoretical, political, and military advancements.

However, we did not interpret the stage of popular protests to be fully developed politically or militarily. Neither did we think the indispensable means were available to topple the regime. A unified activity of a more offensive character, particularly at the grassroots level, would be necessary to counter the conciliatory attitude of the bourgeois opposition. It was necessary to more clearly envision the PCCh role in the development and ripening of the revolutionary situation. Even then, it would still be necessary to have a clear concept of a favorable correlation of forces. Political and social aspects included, that correlation of forces should take into account mass military activity and military training [trabajo militar] carried out by large popular sectors with support from the PCCh.

Likewise, it was necessary to discover, in the struggle waged by hundreds of thousands of men and women, the concrete historical form the ouster of dictatorship and the conquest of an advanced democracy might take, as well as any delay the spread and control of our policy of popular rebellion might suffer. Furthermore, the development of the policy of popular rebellion was hindered by the differences within the PCCh leadership over the actual existence of a revolutionary situation and over the formulation of a policy to topple Pinochet in 1986. We lacked the practice of a more open policy and the formulation of a daring theory. For years, military training was not believed to be a substantial component of PCCh policy. (?It is realized today) that this training is a technical matter for experts.

The document calling for the 15th PCCh National Congress continues: The maturing of the revolutionary process continued fluctuating, with ups and downs, independently from the struggle of the masses, the party's skills, the people's revolutionary alliance, and the willingness of the most progressive social forces to handle the political situation through permanent confrontation, as chosen by the dictatorship.

As of August 1986, the two opposition trends became more stable and more clearly defined. Both agreed that the dictatorship had to be ousted, but preached differnt methods and thereby different plans.

You are listening to the document calling for the 15th PCCh National Congress, whose slogan is to restore and deepen democracy, the unity of the people until final victory. We will now continue broadcasting the text of the document.

In the face of the explosive situation and the possibility of a real revolutionary alternative, U.S. imperialism exerted pressure on the regime and encouraged the burgeoise opposition to start negotiating within the framework of the 1980 Constitution.

This implied reducing popular mobilizations; preventing agreements with the Popular Democratic Movement, MDP; the staging of fights together with the MDP and, particularly, with the PCCh. To do that, the U.S. increasingly meddled in our political life, appointed permanent high-level delegations, broadened its relations with political parties, and appointed Harry Barnes, one of the most experienced and trusted members of the State Department, U.S. ambassador to Chile.

The PCCh call for its 15th Congress continues:

Our proposal to make 1986 the decisive year has been questioned. Most opposition parties, however, accepted our proposal. The Christian Democratic Party, the Christian Left, the Nunes-led Socialist Party, and Silva Cima's Radical Party explicitly accepted our proposal. The goal of ousting Pinochet that year was deemed fair. Although we failed in our main objective and did not have the political or military capability of continuing, together with our closest allies, revolutionary activities until they reached a level of national crisis, this was to be expected because all social processes are a combination of achievements and failures, the document adds. One's progress is not always sustained, not all fair decisions are successful. The great crises, however, enable us to look at ourselves and analyze our deeds as well as those of other political forces. As Lenin used to say, it is in moments of crisis that one's real self shows.

In view of the new circumstances, the document states, the centrist opposition tried to create new possibilities of defeating the dictatorship in the plebiscite and in the elections.

The opposition was thus seeking a bourgeois and democratic solution that would represent some progress. The limitations of this solution, however, consists in offering no profound changes to secure the full eradication of fascist roots.

This solution compromises the economic model and postpones the definitive solution of the democracy-dictatorship conflict, and gives Pinochet more time in office. The dictator will thus have time to strengthen his position and to articulate desperate actions to maintain and extend the regime's power.

Moscow Airs Part Eight

PY1512230588 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Today we will continue reading the fourth point of the document calling for the 15th PCCh National Congress: The development of the antifascist struggle and the party's policy.

Today we will also read the first part of the fifth point, entitled: The antifascist struggle following the plebiscite and the policy of popular rebellion.

Our party made great efforts to try to convince the opposition to return to the path of a determined confrontation and to face a coherent struggle against the regime so as to end the dictatorship more quickly. We maintain this position. At the same time, we committed ourselves to increasing the struggle of the masses.

We denounced the plebiscite's antidemocratic and fraudulent character. We tried to make people conscious of the limitations of the electoral process and worked to make this process a part of the overall plan of social mobilization.

Our policy of rebellion had to face new challenges, which provoked headed arguments within the party leadership. There were temporary disagreements that surfaced from time to time among our spokesmen. In the end, the party decided to join the electoral campaign and to participate in the plebiscite.

It was the correct decision, and it was adopted only after wide radicalized sectors of the people became conscious of the need to take that step. To a large extent, the decision was the result of our campaign to convince these sectors.

We decided to issue a call to support the no-vote. This call was just part of our overall campaign to say no to the dictatorship, a no until final victory could be achieved. We promoted active participation and called on the people not to recognize a yes-vote victory because this could only mean that fraud had been committed. No until final victory—was the slogan of vast sectors of the population.

The electoral campaign was marked by growing confrontations. The political struggle of the reform-minded opposition, the active participation of the masses and the left, and the position of the party against fraud and against an excessive reliability of the plebiscite, played an important role.

Even though the most appropriate scenario for working to end the dictatorship lay outside the rules imposed by the regime, given some specific circumstances, it was also appropriate, and compulsory, to use the regime's own institutional system to fight it, thus adding to the struggle a confrontational connotation and vowing to continue the struggle to oust the current institutional order.

The joint action of the opposition in support of the no-vote, and the firm decision of the people to continue the struggle, made possible the widespread opposition support for the United Left proposal to repudiate the dictator on the same day he was nominated. Thus, on 30 August our joint forces staged the largest rally in support of the antifascist struggle since 2 and 3 July 1986.

The rally was followed by other mobilizations up to the last days of the campaign for the plebiscite. The people made their voice heard, and Pinochet was defeated and could not implement the fraud. All democratic groups played a role in this great victory: the command of the 16-party coalition, the United Left, the National Party headed by German Delcop, and the independent opposition.

The unity of all opposition groups behind a common goal and the democratic conscience of the Chilean people were the decisive factors in the victory of the no-vote. Our party made a decisive contribution to the mobilization of the people and to the quick recognition of the victory.

Fifth point: The Anti-Fascist Struggle After the Plebiscite and the Policy of Popular Rebellion.

The victory and recognition of the no-vote victory have created new political conditions favorable to democracy. This situation will move toward the displacement of Pinochet and the end of the tyranny within the partial or total present institutional order. A vast effort toward this end has began, but not everything is resolved, for Pinochet will try to hold onto power. Pinochet insists on strictly fulfilling the institutional schedule and the 1980 Constitution.

He has threatened to annul the result of the plebiscite if the opposition does not submit to his will. The regime is also doing everything possible to emerge victorious in the upcoming elections.

We have to be prepared to frustrate those plans or any other attempt to subvert the current situation.

All situations must be analyzed with the masses. Most Chileans have democratic yearnings, and unfulfilled demands. Therefore, they call for immediate changes to be implemented in accordance with the people's will, as expressed in the plebiscite returns.

We Communists have been the first to attempt to solve the democracy-dictatorship conflict that leans toward fascism; to oust Pinochet and put an end to tyranny; and to establish the most advanced democratic administration possible.

This may not be achieved, and a bourgeois democracy may be established in the country. Although a bourgeois democracy is not our final goal, compared to the current fascist regime, it will represent some degree of progress toward freedom, and the people's situation will have been improved. This, however, can only be achieved through the people's struggle.

If this occurs, the PCCh document states, we will support and promote all activities aimed at benefiting the people and at achieving a real democratization of the entire society, thus truly solving the country's problems.

We cannot forget, however, that a bourgeois democracy will not really meet the demands and fulfill the yearnings of the masses that claim to support liberty and social justice. Liberty and social justice, however, cannot be achieved because of the dominant imperialistic capital of the oligarchy, and because of the constant threat of a new reactionary military intervention.

If the people's efforts are not adequate to install a real democracy in the country, then a puppet regime subordinate to the military, as foreseen by the fascist Constitution, may be established in the country.

You are listening to the full text of the PCCh call for the 15th national congress.

Our policy of popular rebellion continues to be enforced. It resulted from the need to defeat fascism, and raised the need to use all types of struggle to discontinue the legal system established by the regime. It reasserts the people's right to rebel against tyranny, and contains permanent elements that enrich our revolutionary policy, whose main goal is to gain power for the people.

At any given time, we may have to emphasize the rebellion of the masses and national uprising regardless of the changes that may occur in the future or the intensity of the people's struggle.

Currently, the PCCh call for its 15th congress states that our policy of popular rebellion must be implemented in the various sectors that objectively raise the need to fight the dictatorship and that do not clash with each other.

We must pay special attention to the problems troubling the poorest strata of society, such as famine, unemployment, housing shortages, lack of electricity and drinking water, and proper medical assistance. We must forcefully promote social mobilization in defense of the people's most urgent economic and political demands. We must promote civil disobedience, preserve and improve the people's right to defend themselves, and use all types of struggle that life may demand from us.

We must also unhesitatingly meet the upcoming electoral challenges.

Political & Social

Ryzhkov, Others Hold 19 Dec News Conference

LD2012012688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] On 19 December there was a news conference in Yerevan by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission for Soviet and foreign journalists. Taking part in it were Comrades Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Maslyukov, Yazov; Comrade Arutyuyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; and Comrade Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Speaking at the press conference, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Twelve days have already passed since this misfortune occurred—one of the most terrible earthquakes in our country. You know how great the number of deaths and the damage it caused. More specific data remains to be detailed, but it is already clear that we are talking of tens of thousands of deaths and billions in material losses. In itself, this earthquake was unprecedented for the Transcaucasus. The destruction in the disaster zone is enormous, one might say horrifying. Armenia has lost approximatley 8 million square meters, or more than half of the housing area which existed in this area. There are almost 514,000 people homeless. Many industrial and agricultural enterprises have been totally destroyed or damaged. A considerable portion of the roads and railways have been put out of action. Bridges and lines of communication have been cut, and public services have been put out of operation entirely.

The gravest and most irreplaceable loss is the deaths. At present there are no final data on the victims of the earthquake. During the past days, 23,700 people have been brought out from under the rubble; 15,300 people have been saved; 10,380 stricken people were hospitalized; by the evening of 18 December, 5,200 people had been released from the hospital and there are 4,800 people undergoing treatment.

Rescue work is proceeding at full speed. Hundreds of thousands of people are participating. Toiling alongside the Armenian people are people of every nationality. They have come from every corner of our country; they have come from Europe, the United States, from socialist and the capitalist states. Rescuing inhabitants of the affected Armenian towns and villages has become a truly international effort. The Armenian leadership, Comrades Arutyunyan, Voskanyan, Sarkisyan, members of Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, from the very first moments became actively involved in organizing the rescue efforts.

The nature of the destruction is such that for all intents and purposes it was not possible to pull down the collapsed residential buildings and enterprises without using powerful equipment. During the very first hours, following a decision by Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government, mobile cranes, bulldozers, and excavators were sent to the affected towns and villages from Yerevan and other towns and areas of the Armenian SSR. At the same time many thousands of volunteers joined in the rescue work, and the first medical teams, under the leadership USSR Health Minister of Comrade Chazov, were deployed.

Assistance from around the country began to arrive on the very first day. The first cranes, motor vehicles, and other emergency rescue equipment were delivered by air from the closest republics and oblasts. Around 900 cranes, 250 bulldozers, and more than 1,000 dump trucks and other trucks are now engaged in dismantling the ruins in the construction complex organizations alone. Five thousand medical workers are working in the disaster zone. Of these 4,000 are from Armenia, 700 from the other republics in the country, and 300 are foreign specialists. They have rendered assistance to more than 17,000 people. Frenchmen and Cubans, Americans and Poles, Britons and Austrians, citizens of Czechoslovakia, the FRG, Switzerland, and other countries are selflessly working at present. More than 2,000 foreign specialists have made a priceless contribution to the struggle for the lives of Soviet people and we are deeply grateful to them for this feat.

Today we can say that in general the first, most crucial and dramatic stage in the work to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake is ending. Its main objective is saving human life. The activity of all those who came here to assist and those on the spot who survived the disaster has been subordinated to this. These are servicemen of the Soviet Army, the internal troops and civil defense, rescue workers, drivers of cranes and other forms of transport, pilots, railroad workers, communications workers, construction workers, repair workers, those who are responsible for maintaining public order, organizers and coordinators of the whole complex set of operations in the disaster area.

The elemental strike caused not only much destruction—almost total in a number of cases—but it also destroyed the whole system of public and economic administration in the extensive disaster zone. Many leaders and specialists, people responsible for this or that sector of work, for ensuring people's vital activity, perished. In conditions of psychological shock this created enormous difficulties for getting the rescue work moving. We immediately had to create new organizational structures, both centrally and locally, to get extensive work going for the rescue of tens of thousands of people who were under the wreckage. As is known, a commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo was created at the center to coordinate all the work on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake on an all-union scale. In Yerevan a government commission set to work, operating in close contact with the leading organs—the ministries and departments of the republic. Once again, familiarization with the disaster spots suggested which organizational structures should be created for the emergency administration machinery to come into operation.

Operations headquarters were formed in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak headed by senior personnel of the union Government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia. Organs of party leadership were formed from the Communist leaders still alive, responsible persons were appointed for individual sectors and establishmetns and also in villages which had suffered most. The USSR Gossnab, the USSR Gosstroy, and the USSR Gosagroprom, union ministries for health, civil aviation, the railways, trade, and many others organized their own parallel and interconnected management organs in Armenia, which made it possible to bring leadership directly closer to the place of the disaster. The AUCCTU, the country's and the republic's Komsomol and other public organizations also acted in this way. As a result, in just a few days, such a mechanism of management was formed which made it possible to efficiently involve enormous human and material resources and to use them in the interests of saving people.

Unfortunately not all leaders measured up to the situation. At times irresponsibility and incompetence, helplessness, the habit of presenting the desirable as reality, and putting it simply, lack of working skills have manifested themselves. The past 12 days have shown very clearly that in times of need you find out not just who are your friends but also who are your leaders. The appropriate conclusions will of course be drawn from this.

We cannot pass over in silence the valor and the genuine mass heroism that has been displayed by thousands of Communists and nonparty members, soviet and Komsomol employees, economic leaders, rank and file toilers and servicemen. (Balasan Magarkyan), chief engineer at the Kirovakan automation works, ran to the school as soon as the earthquake began. He entered the building which was still being shaken by tremors. He seized crying children in his arms and ran out. Then he did it again and again and again. When he entered the school building one more time, the last tremor destroyed the entire second floor and he was left under the debris. He died without regaining consciousness after a series of operations. (Razmik Dokholyan), secretary of a sovkhoz party bureau; Obik Dokholyan, a worker at a sovkhoz; Garnik Gobkoryan, a worker at a rayon consumer cooperatives' union; Arsrun Gogiynyan, artistic leader at a house of culture; and Avetik Tarasyan, a physical education teacher, saved a considerable number of lives on that day. Deep respect is inspired by the courage and loyalty to party duty by (Nurik Morodyan), first secretary of the Spitak Raykom and (Misak Mrchyan), first secretary of the Leninakan Gorkom. They lost their nearest and dearest and comrades from work but throughout all of these tragic days they are to be found at the very center of the struggle helping save the survivors. With their self-control and selfless work they give an example of civic spirit and courage. With their deeds these Communists have earned boundless respect on the part of the people and the right to be called true leaders of the masses.

One needs to give special mention to the outstanding role being played in saving workers, in rescue work, in ensuring the vital activities of the population and in maintaining public order in the area of the disaster by soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army, the civil defense, internal troops and bodies of the USSR's MVD. Presently in the heart of the disaster area, more than 20,000 servicemen are at work, at whose disposal are about 3,000 units of various equipment. The troops have cleared 43 km of passageways through the rubble in the center of the earthquake and about 100 km of roads. Much has also been done by the troops to ease the living conditions for the people. They have handed over 17,500 tents; 200 field kitchens; and two mobile bread factories. They have deployed three bath and laundry trains and 75 military electric power stations. They have organized twice-a-day meals for 37,000 people.

The military transport aviation has carried out more than 900 flights, including 150 flights using super-heavy An-124 Ruslan planes and the Antheus AN-22's.

Eight civil defense regiments are taking part in the elimination of earthquake's damage, with an overall number of more than 10,000 men. They have come from the Ruslan Federation, the Ukraine, and the republics of the Transcaucasus and are working day and night. Some of these military units took part in clearing the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station.

There are units of internal affairs troops and militia sub-units acting in close contact with the men of the Soviet Army; their numbers in the disaster areas currently amount to about 5,500. Enormous work has been carried out at this time by our civil aviation units. In the very first 24 hours the pilots made 130 flights to the disaster region, delivering 700 medical staff and evacuating 2,500 seriously wounded people. On 9 December delivery of machinery and cargo by heavy transport planes began, amounting to 1,680 flights. Together with military transport aircraft 27,000 tonnes of goods, including 347 cranes, 54 excavators, 12,000 tents and much else was delivered to the airports of Yerevan and Leninakan. Today, when summing up the results, a deputy minister of civil aviation reported that the intensity of flights and landings to those two airports in comparison with the normal situation before the earthquake had increased sevenfold. The enormous flow of aid coming from everywhere to Armenia required a restructuring in the system of reception, registration, storage, and distribution of the valuable goods arriving. It is extremely important to ensure efficient distribution, without delays, of the aid and delivery of goods to specific towns, rayons and villages, and, most importantly to a specific person or group of people. The republic daily receives over 300 tonnes of food, which is twice as much as before the earthquake. Altogether in the form of free help, food and consumer goods have already been received to the value of about 5 million rubles.

Naturally the registration and distribution of this required skilled hands and common sense. Locally, the work was led by executive committees of city, rayon, and rural soviets with the broad participation by the public. Ensuring basic life support for the affected population has been virtually fulfilled. Normal water supply has already been restored in the cities of Leninakan and Kirovakan. In Spitak local sources are only partially being used. The water there is for the most part brought in. Scrupulous monitoring of the quality of water has been established everywhere; bacteriological analysis of it is carried out daily. The Razdan Gres has gone on to design capacity. Electricity has been brought to Spitak city. Electricity substations have been restored in Leninakan and Kirovakan. Repairs are now underway and new electricity networks are being laid in rural areas. In Leninakan, there is a telephone network operating for the first 150 subscribers. In Spitak, telephone communications from the city head quarter have been established, with all organizations carrying out restoration work. In 11 rayon centers, there are mobile telephone exchanges, connecting 255 rural inhabited centers.

Today there are twice as many newspapers being delivered to the disaster area as before the earthquake. Stable postal communications have been organized everywhere. And the fact that newspapers, the publication of which was stopped by the earthquake, have now begun to appear in Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan, is, I think, also of some interest to you! And today saw the first edition of an information bulletin which contains Hope and Search sections. These sections are for children who are searching for their parents and for parents who are searching for their children, and generally for all who lost contact with their nearest and dearest during the earthquake. The circulation of the information bulletin is 100,000. It is published in Armenian and Russian and is distributed free in the country.

Just as important were the issues of guaranteeing victims temporary accommodation. More than 10,000 spacious, heated tents and 28,000 field wagons, prefabricated houses and yurts have been transported to the towns and rural areas in the disaster zone. Generally people have been assured of hot food.

Evacuation of the population is going on, along with the rescue operations. AUCCTU Chairman Comrade Shalayev is in charge of this work. The trade unions have set up evacuation points and, along with the mass media, are carrying out much explantory and organizational work. Evacuation means creating normal living conditions for the elderly, women, and children left homeless, particularly because it is now winter. Furthermore, the children have the chance to continue with their schooling. The evacuation of this part of the population will enable the men to rebuild enterprises and top off the workforce of construction organizations. Furthermore, it will remove several acute problems regarding the supply of social and consumer services in the devastated towns.

I should say that, for the first few days following the earthquake, nobody wanted to leave the zone. But as the rescue work progressed, the situation changed abruptly. Up to 18 December, around 70,000 people had been evacuated, including 37,000 who had been evacuated beyond the border of Armenia. They have been accommodated in the best sanatoriums, boarding houses, and holiday homes in Georgia, Krasnodar kray, the Stavropol region, the Ukraine, and Moldavia. The unions have assumed the full cost of keeping them and feeding them in the sanatoriums. The first Armenian language schools and kindergartens have started up in the evacuation areas. The famous children's resorts of Anapa and Yevpatoriya will, in the next few days, receive 7,000 children, teachers, and parents. The first three trainloads from Kirovakan set off today for Anapa, accompanied by those in charge and doctors. Sanatoriums belonging to the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs at Kislovodsk, Nalchik, Gagra, and Moscow Oblast have received their first contingent of 700 villagers. I believe we will fully complete the evacuation of the population in the next 3-4 days.

Most of the towns and villages hit are maintaining sanitory and hygiene stability. As before, during the first days of the disaster, medical personnel are working selflessly. The rural rayons deserve particular discussion and attention: 90 kilkhozes, 209 sovkhozes, 12 interfarm and 32 industrial enterprises, 52 construction enterprises, and many other enterprises and organizations were in the earthquake zone; 58 villages have been completely destroyed as well as 21,000-residential blocks; 83 schools, 88 kindergartens, 84 hospitals and medical centers, tens of shops, post office and telegraph buildings, and 119 clubs and houses of culture. Production facilities have suffered great loss—1,428 cattle barns have been damaged or destroyed, including 615 completely devastated; 513 repair workshops and garages have been knocked out either completely or partially, bridges and the road network have been damaged; some 24,000 head of cattle perished, along with 45,000 sheep and more than 8,000 pigs. The burial of dead livestock is coming to an end. Great damage has been caused to the processing branches of the agro-industrial complex. Preliminary estimates put the total loss to the republic's agro-industrial complex at around R2 billion.

We are often asked about financial help to the victims and compensation to them (?for the misfortune). Decisions on these matters have been only just adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers; they are published in the press and do not leave unanswered any questions concerning the interests of those people affected by the earthquake. As is evident from talking with the populace, people are viewing gratefully these decisions by the Central Committee and the Soviet Government. The order of providing work has been defined as well as the wages of workers of enterprises, institutions, and organizations destroyed as a result of the earthquake. Special attention has been paid to women with school-age children. They will keep their average wage and uninterrupted work record for a period up to 6 months since they stopped work.

In the case of evacuating women and children to live in sanatoria, boarding houses, and rest homes fully paid for by the state, they will be paid 50 percent of their average wage. Apart from this, the government decided to give medicine free during out-patient treatment of citizens affected by the earthquake and pay wages for workers from enterprises and organizations engaged in work connected with the elimination of the consequences of this natural disaster. Now we have approached the second, more longterm stage of the work to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake. Its final aim is the restoration of the region's socioeconomic potential. There are over 200 union-republican enterprises located in the disaster area. The rayons affected by the earthquake play an important role in supplying the republic with agricultural produce. Many of them were badly affected, and some of them will have to be rebuilt. The republic will not be able to cope with all this alone. Its economic and hence its social structure can be restored in the intended 2-year period only with the most active participation of all union ministries and departments and labor collectives of related enterprises. With the aim of uniting the efforts in this direction, the Politburo commission held a conference 2 days ago in Yerevan of the leaders of a number of union ministries and central economic departments with the participation of the Armenian leadership. There we decided the further fate of many plants, factories, associations, collective farms and livestock units.

Work priorities were defined; it was considered which enterprises should be left in their former place, and which should be moved or reoriented. The work scales are great: the overall amount of expenditure on restoring was originally set at R5 billion. However, this amount, as far as one can judge, will increase. Now it is hard to say. I want to stress especially that all reconstructed and restored enterprises will be renewed in a radical fashion, on the basis of up-to-date machinery and the very latest technology. This will raise their capacity and standard of output. It will allow collectives to produce competitive output at full value. It should be noted that most production blocks are to be built of light materials. As life showed, they are far more reliable and efficient in an earthquake zone. The urban construction problems of a republic where land is literally worth its weight in gold are not simple. Initially, the question arises: should residential buildings be restored in their former place? On the advice of scientists, in Spitak they will be moved to the safest zone. Plans call for the buildings to be mainly three and four storeys. Leninakan and Kirovakan will be restored in their former territories. It is especially important to carefully maintain here their historic appearance and the whole coloring of Armenia national architecture. We do not have the right to leave our descendants faceless twin cities. For this reason all construction designs must be open for broad public discussion. Final decisions will be made only with consideration being given to the views of those who will have to live in the restored cities and villages. From the experience of rescue work in Armenia in which an active part was taken by many foreign countries, detachments and specialists, the conclusion suggests itself that to overcome major catastrophes there is a need to unite international efforts. This would be in keeping with universal human interests, the priority of which is making itself increasingly felt in our interdependent world.

In which form is it preferable to implement this idea, and under whose aegis should an emergency international aid organization be set up? This is evidently a matter for talks between participants of the world community and international organizations. The Soviet Union is ready for major steps in this humane sphere.

Armenia's misery has become the misery of our whole country, of all the fraternal republics. It has met an echo of acute pain in the hearts of millions of people; it has roused human feelings of compassion, benevolence, and a fraternal willingness to provide assistance.

These feelings were not born today, and of course, they are not simply the fruit of misery. This is, above all, a lofty manifestation of the commonality of spirit of our peoples, the commonality of their destiny, which grew strong in the joint struggle for the victory of the revolution, for the freedom and independence of our motherland, for a new society, and for socialism.

On behalf of the party Central Committee and the Soviet Government, I express profound gratitude to the whole Soviet people for showing during Armenia and the entire country's difficult the best features of its character, rushing to help those who had been stricken, and for giving everything that was needed.

Faced with the international fraternity of the soviet peoples, which is currently being manifested with particular vigor, the grievances and the feelings of enmity, which have at times darkened interethnic relations, cannot but retreat.

Let us ponder at the present time how great and fateful is that which joins us together and unites us, and how damaging and unnatural everything which disunites and weakens us is.

Being here, we see that the Armenian people, courageously enduring a grave ordeal, are capable of valuing good-neighborliness and friendship, brotherhood and cohesion, which gives us all confidence in the strength of and is a pledge of success in the cause of restructuring.

In conclusion, I want to express the firm conviction that with the aid of all the fraternal peoples, Armenia will heal its wounds and will advance confidently along the path of renewing all the life in our socialist family. [end recording]

Tomorrow, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission, Comrades Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and Yazov, will fly to Moscow. The commission will continue to fulfill the functions invested in it by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to coordinate the work in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake. Leadership of the work here, jointly with republican bodies, will be effected by Comrade Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The commission of the Central Committee Politburo will periodically travel to the republic to monitor and coordinate work. Then participants in the news conference replied to questions posed by Soviet and foreign journalists.

[Unidentified correspondent] Nikolay Ivanovich, I have visited almost all the affected villages, and I saw about 50 totally destroyed villages out of a total of about 60—58 to be exact. Can you tell me, will all these villages be fully restored, or is there an opinion that this or that village does not need to be restored because it has been fully destroyed and all its inhabitants killed.

[Ryzhkov] The view of the Politburo Commission here is firm and unambiguous. All the villages which were affected must be restored, whether they were partially damaged or fully destroyed. In my opinion, this is the view shared by the leadership of both the republic and the Politburo commission. We feel that it would be wrong and impermissible to cast aside these villages and create some sort of new residential settlements, etc.

[TASS correspondent] TASS correspondent. There is a team from the Soviet telegraphic agency working here. We have visited all the disaster zones several times, including Leninakan, and we were convinced that all the older houses were left more or less intact, while the multi-storey, high-rise buildings of panel construction were destroyed to their foundations. Here is the question: Will the persons who sanctioned the building of such buildings without consideration of the seismic zone be brought to account? That's the first question. The second question: How do you assess the role and work of the Soviet mass media in this situation?

[Ryzhkov] During the visit to Leninakan, and indeed to Kirovakan, we were asked very many questions as to why such buildings were erected, nine-storey ones, why such designs were built, why they were built despite existing technology. We have set up a government commission to tackle this problem. Yesterday I signed a document creating this commission. We have brought in the major scientists from our country who, with a Gosstroy deputy chairman at the head, are to look most scrupulously into this question and, in the first quarter of next year, present their official conclusion to the USSR Government.

In our view several mistakes were made here. First, the provisional assessment by the experts is that the nine-storey buildings of that design which were to put in Leninakan in general cannot withstand longitudinal loads, i.e. they should not have been put in this seismic zone at all. That's the first thing. Second, according to provisional assessments by the experts, the building quality was very low, very low: large-scale disregard of existing technology, both from the viewpoint of the composition of all the components necessary for construction and from the viewpoint of assembly of those parts. These, therefore, are the exclusively provisional assessments. I have already said that a government commission has been established which will give us the results, and, of course, the most serious conclusions will be drawn, both for those leaders who dealt with the questions in the republic, and corresponding proposals will be made to prevent such a situation from occurring in the future.

The second question concerns the work of the mass media organs. We assess their work very positively. Obviously one cannot say that there are no shortcomings. There are shortcomings everywhere; there are shortcomings in the work of the Politburo commission, and in the work of other bodies. And there are also shortcomings in the mass media organs. But, on the whole, we assess it very positively. We can tell you what the shortcomings are, if you are interested, but they are only details. On the whole, the mass media organs have functioned well. Unfortunately we saw very few of the broadcasts, but what we saw—sometimes we managed to find 10 or 15 minutes to watch television—we were extremely satisfied with and we express gratitude to all who took part in that work.

[Korotkov] Korotkov, All-Union Radio Mayak. The rescue operations have shown that in order to provide effective help to the victims, there needs to be a rapid transfer of machinery, medical equipment, and specialists to the natural disaster zone. Do you not feel that it is advisable to create a rapid deployment force in quake-prone zones of our country, here in the Caucasus and in the republic of Central Asia?

[Ryzhkov] You see, this time of course, there was very little time left to think about questions of the future, there was virtually none. But being in the thick of these events, seeing the consequences of this natural disaster, and making a realistic assessment of the plusses and minusses of our rescue work—and we feel that there is very much that is positive here in the mobilization of all forces and means of our country, while at the same time we see some shortcomings—of course we are drawing the following conclusion: Reconstruction begins to proceed at a normal rhythm, we will need to weigh these problems in the country very seriously, very seriously. And I think that it is not even a matter of needing to create some kind of fast-reaction centers—only let's assume for Central Asia and for the Transcaucasus. I think that we need to create these centers, and an entire system, to create a rapid-reaction system which would have both scientific and technological potential and production potential, that is, we need to have reserves of equipment, medicines, and means of transport that could at any time join in the elimination of this or that accident situation. Our country is a most vast one, of course natural disasters occur first in one place and then in another. In one case it is an earthquake; in another case it is flooding; of course there are other types of natural disasters which unfortunately do occur and one has to suppose that they will occur in the future. Therefore we will be working very carefully on this question. As soon as we arrive in Moscow we will give instructions to corresponding services to begin the development of such a system. Yesterday I even asked comrades who work abroad and who have something to do with this question to gather all information on what is done abroad in this matter. I think that we will adopt such decisions and that we need a system, because of course it is difficult to create a system every time on the move, as we have been doing over the course of a certain number of days. Of course this is difficult and it requires a great deal of transfer of resources and of course it entails certain shortcomings in the organization of this work.

[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent] I'm from SOVETSKAYA KULTURA. Have the aims, specific aims, been defined for the distribution of funds? That's the first question, and my second question is: As we know, in the period of stagnation, [during Brezhnev era] cultural establishments were built on the left-overs principle. [po ostatuchnomu printsipu]. Can one hope that during the restoration period, this principle will not come in to play in Armenia?

[Ryzhkov] With regard to currency, it is being concentrated in two places: directly in Armenia, where a portion of the resources are going to the government of Armenia, and in Moscow in the Vneshekonombank [foreign, economic bank]. At the moment, we do not know how much of this money there wil be because transfers are still taking place and therefore it is difficult for us even to say at this point in time how much of these resources there will be. How are we thinking of spending them? We discussed this question with the leadership of Armenia and we are firmly convinced that all of the money, the currency resources, which has come in or which will come in from states, from individual firms, and from individual citizens, will be handed over in full by us to the Armenian republic, in full, down to the last kopeck. That is, we will not be spending this money in a centralized fashion. The money will be handed over directly to the republic. The republic has decided on its own how it will spend the money. They have adopted a decision, a preliminary decision, of course, that all of this money, with all of this money, medical equipment will be purchased for those hospitals, polyclinics, and maternity homes which will be built anew in the disaster zone, in order to equip them well. On the second question about social and cultural establishments, I think that everything will take place here the other way around. We will obviously have to start with social and cultural establishments. In the first place we need to build schools, hospitals, and kindergartens and, in parallel, to build housing. Therefore we are convinced that here there should be only a harmonious development of these towns and in fact Comrade Batalin is now working on and engaged in this matter.

[Ponomarev] I have a question for Nikolay Nikitovich. I am TASS observer Ponomarev. Nikolay Ivanovich told us about the organizational role of the republic's leadership in these extraordinary circumstances. Nikolay Nikitovich, during all of these difficult days, the Politburo commission was in the very midst of the people, mixed actively and saw people at work. What is your impression, how did the republic's primary organizations show themselves—that is, the main link of the party?

[Ryzhkov] I must say that, in spite of the very complex situation that has arisen due not only to the scale of devastation but also to the loss of a great number of leaders of party, local soviet, and economic bodies and a considerable number of party aktiv, that the party organization overall, the local party organizations, the rayon committees of party committees, and the party Central Committee did their best. One can cite as an example the work of the party organization of Communists in organizing the whole work of the city party committee, rayon party committees, local party organizations, and Communists of the town of Yerevan. The morning after the misfortune struck, 7,000 men had already arrived together with equipment at the destruction sites and had started rescue operations. To date, more than 70,000 men have already taken part in rescue operations there. During our work as leaders of the commission, established to organize a system for resolving all the problems arising here, we saw a very complex situation directly in the rural areas because, in the beginning, all forces were moved into big towns where large- scale wreckage was in evidence. We saw the complexity of that situation, and the rayon party committees, with the participation of primary party organizations, took the initiative of assuming responsibility for supervising and assisting the organization of aid to all the rural areas that had suffered.

When certain difficulties emerged with the flow of cargo that has now started arriving on a mass scale and when certain assistance was required in organizing the unloading of cargo, an additional headquarters was set up yesterday and the city party committee took upon itself the important task of working to eliminate the difficulties in unloading the railway trucks. Dozens, hundreds, and thousands of such examples of local party organizations and individual Communists may be given today.

[Unidentified correspondent] I have a brief question. When will the first stone for the first house be laid down and how much time will be required for restoring towns and villages, in realistic estimates?

[Ryzhkov] I think Comrade Batalin can answer this question better than I.

[Batalin] In the first quarter, that is for sure. But it is difficult for me to say precisely what period of the first quarter because the seismic situation in the construction areas is very complex, and we have now formed a commission, including scientists from the Soviet Union and Armenia, who will provide us with a final solution within the next few days concerning the plots on which houses can be built and the level of their seismic resistance. Therefore, it is difficult to say now whether it will be January or February, but it will definitely be during the first quarter. As to houses with only a few storeys, industrial ones made of timber panels, the construction of such houses will begin in January.

[Ryzhkov] The first stone will be laid down in January.

[Kifaryan] If foreign construction companies give their consent not only to provide hard currency but also to build in Armenia themselves, will they be allowed to do this? I am Kifaryan from ARMENPRESS.

[Ryzhkov] We do not exclude such participation. Preliminary talks have taken place with Italian representatives. They expresed a wish to take part in the construction of a rayon in Spitak. This issue is now being investigated by the Italian Government. And I will tell you that during the conversation with Catholicos Vazgen I, he voiced the opinion that he was going to carry out work in America, in South and North America, so that Armenian communities could concentrate material and financial resources for restoring the town of Stepanavan. We do not know what will come of it but we say firmly that if individual states or individual companies show good will in the sphere of rendering assistance in building individual projects or in some rayons, we would only be grateful. I would like to inform you as well that in our conversation with the secretary general of the Red Cross an opinion was voiced, and how this issue is being examined so that...[Ryzhkov changes thought] We said that we do not need supplies of medicines, warm clothes, or tents at the moment, we thanked him and said that there is currently no need for them. It seems all this will be of use in other countries and in the event of other natural calamities.

But in the second stage—that is to say the restoration work—he also stressed the view that it may be possible perhaps by means of mobilizing the funds coming into the Red Cross to build some projects. We told him that if there is such an opportuntiy, two projects should be built in Armenia; one is to build a special hospital for people who have lost their mobility, for patients with spinal problems who will never walk again. And the second is to build either a works or factory or some sort of workshop to manufacture artificial limbs, because, according to doctors' estimates, approximately 4,000 people will lose their limbs and become invalids. We shall be grateful if the Red Cross will participate in the construction of these two projects, because all of this will remain, of course, for decades, and this will be a symbol of the participation of the international organizations in the cause of eliminating this tragedy. Yesterday there was a conversation with a representative of the UN secretary general. Ideas were also expressed that perhaps some sort of project could be built which would also be a symbol of these international relations, our good relations.

[Terekhov] Terekhov, central broadcasting to foreign countries. A question for Comrade Arutyunyan. Can you tell me please, what material contribution is being made by Armenia, the republic, using its economic potential, for eliminating the consequences of the earthquake?

[Arutyunyan] Since the question was addressed to me, I would like perhaps first of all to say the following: 12 days have already passed since the day of the earthquake, an earthquake that shook the whole world. I must say that those 12 days seem to us to be a whole eternity, because all of those days were compressed and extremely intense. In those hard days of ordeal which fell on the shoulders of the republic's working people and the whole Armenian people, we felt all the force of the creative power of the fraternal union of the peoples of our country. Essentially in the first hours after the elements struck, all the Soviet people were with us confronting the disaster.

And wherever we had occasion to be in those days, wherever we found ourselves, each time we met as representatives of almost all parts of our country working shoulder to shoulder. It is difficult to imagine in what state we would be now if our great and mighty power had not put its shoulder behind us in these most difficult days, hours, and minutes which our republic and our people are going through. The years and decades will pass, but I think the grateful memory of our people will remain forever, this common solidarity, these extended helping hands from all parts of our country. During this difficult time—and this can be said boldly and confidently—the Central Committee of our party, and the Soviet Government provided the entire leadership for eliminating the consequences of the earthquake. I must tell you that these days we are receiving masses of letters, telegrams, and phone calls in which people are expressing their sincere gratitude and gratefulness to all the peoples of our country; to the Central Committee of our party; and to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who broke off his visit, immediately came here to the republic, was at the epicenter of events, had numerous meetings with the population of Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan. These meetings were of inestimable value for us, because they inspired confidence in the troubled soul and lent optimism to our population and the working people of Armenia. We cannot...[Arutyunyan changes thought] On behalf of the people of Armenia, the working people of the republic, I would like to express words of gratitude to the world community, to all the countries and peoples who streteched out a helping hand to Armenia. The epicenter of disaster, Armenia, has essentially become today the epicenter of humaneness, charity, and humanity.

I must say—we've been talking to the press here—Nikolay Ivanovich highly appraised the press; we here, the leadership of the republic, and I'd even say the population of the republic, are very grateful to you journalists, comrades, friends, gentlemen, for living through together with us the whole depth of the pain and suffering of our people, and this can be judged from your reports, from your articles, reports which we read, and you were able to convey this pain to the whole planet, to all the countries and peoples, and that is why your contribution to this effort is simply priceless.

Ahead of us lies great, I'd say titanic, work in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake and reviving our ancient land. But we are confident, we are looking to tomorrow, to the future with optimism because, I'd like to emphasize once again, the entire country is with us, all people of good will are with us.

As far as our republic's specific participation in the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake, I think it is understandable and completely natural that all of the republic's reserves and resources will be mobilized to rebuild as soon as possible, with the assistance of the country, that which has been destroyed, to rebuild the destroyed towns and villages and restore the republic's life to its normal course.

[(Pskovskiy)] (Pskovskiy), TASS. I have a question for the defense minister. Dmitriy Timofeyevich, could you not, at least somehow in a general outline, appraise the effectiveness and efficiency of our soldiers' participation in restoring order after the earthquake?

[Yazov] Nikolay Ivanovich has already spoken of and appraised the soldiers of the Soviet Army and the soldiers of the Internal Affairs Ministry, but I would like to say that they were the first to go into the struggle against the elements in a more organized way. The units were stationed here, locally, and in spite of the fact that the families of some of the servicemen had died, they immediately went off to work in the city. Apart from working on clearing the rubble, with their assistance feeding points were immediately organized, those tents which were at their disposal were put up. And then, when on Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's instructions, a large number of tents were delivered by air, they helped to erect them, they put up tents in inhabited localities, delivered bread and foodstuffs to inhabited localities. I think that the servicemen fulfilled their task, their role in this serious situation. The appraisal was given by the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] MAINITI. In your opinion, how is this disaster affecting the question around Nagorno-Karabakh? Has the nature of this question changed after the earthquake?

[Arutyunyan] Allow me to answer this question.

[Announcer] Comrade Arutyunyan takes the floor.

[Arutyunyan] You know that after the USSR Supreme Soviet session, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, had a meeting, with the participation of members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, with deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Armenia and Azerbaijan. A very detailed discussion took place. I can tell you that we spent something like 7 hours in the meeting where there was a free and open discussion of issues connected with interethnic relations, including the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh. An understanding was reached that the two union republics would meet and together once again discuss this problem comprehensively in order to find a compromise solution for the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. We had a meeting there—I mean now at the level of the two union republics. It was agreed that we would be returning to the republics and then in a few days time would meet again in Moscow with our ideas and proposals of some kind. Such a meeting should have taken place. But because of this natural disaster, we naturally could not go to this meeting and it was postponed. It was even agreed that during 12 days such proposals were to be prepared and presented for examination. Is that right, Nikolay Ivanovich?

[Ryzhkov] That's right. But on the seventh day there was the earthquake.

[Arutyunyan] That's right, there was the earthquake. Now, at this time, all our concerns and all our efforts are directed above all at rescuing people and taking immediate measures to eliminate those questions that had to be resolved without delay.

For this reason now, at this time, I think that our thoughts and efforts are taken up not such much by Nagorno-Karabakh as by the fates of the people who have been left homeless and who have been killed—some tens of thousands of people. The Nagorno-Karabakh problem exists, nobody will hide it. It needs a compromise approach, a compromise solution. We shall think and work on it later.

[Ryzhkov] These two peoples must live in peace. They have lived together for centuries, centuries, and they should continue to live together. There is no other alternative here. It must be solved by political means. It must be solved by means of compromise, finding mutually acceptable political solutions, and I think that these two republics will find such a solution, because this interethnic enmity, interethnic quarreling which has led to this fairly deep gulf appearing today, is impermissible. You know, individual leaders can argue about it, scholars can debate it, other circles or societies can deal with this problem, but when two peoples clash—quite innocent peoples—this is impermissible. There is no need for peoples to be involved here. The peoples must not be blamed—neither the Armenian nor the Azeri. In this case they have fallen on hard times, as they say, because they were brought into collision with each other. So the task today of course is eliminating the consequences of the accident. Everything must be done so that at least the most immediate tasks are carried out, and later of course the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh must be solved. Yes, there are problems there. Yes, we were truly convinced that problems exist. During the summer a decision of the party Central Committee and government was made to solve a number of social, cultural, and humanitarian questions. A careful look must be taken to ensure that there is peace between these two peoples. [end recording] [Announcer] The participants in the press conference also answered questions from other journalists.

'Underground' Armenian Warns of Civil War Danger

LD2012150588 Hamburg DPA in German 1421 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Armenian civil rights campaigner Aschot Manutscharyan has warned of the danger of a civil war in Armenia "which could spread to the whole of the Soviet Union." In an interview with the news magazine "STERN", published in the latest edition, 34-year-old Manutscharyan, who now lives undergound in Yerevan, also appealed to the Soviet head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev to resume the disrupted dialogue with the Karabakh committee. Manutscharyan is a member of that committee, which since February 1988 has been advocating that Nagorno-Karabakh be incorporated into Azerbaijan [as received].

"Throughout Armenia youngsters are prepared, and they are armed with hand grenades and rifles. Nobody knows their exact number. However, should the situation escalate they will be ready to strike," Manutscharyan said in the interview. Armenia was the model for Gorbachev's "perestroyka"—the restructuring of society, more democracy, more justice. Manutscharyan described accusations to the effect that the Karabakh committee had started anew the nationality conflict at the very time of the earthquake disaster as "slander," both by Moscow and by the Armenian government.

To the contrary, following the earthquake the committee was eager to adopt the correct relief measures. Since "inefficiency and inactivity by the government" had "proved to be particularly fatal," the committee offered its help, which was gratefully accepted. The break occurred 4 days later. When more and more people gathered with missing person reports outside the committee's premises, the military intervened heavily and dispersed the people using tanks, batons, and firearms. Six of the 12 committee members were arrested as "saboteurs."

Ryzhkov, Commission Continue Efforts in Armenia

17 Dec Meeting on Refugees' Work

LD1912150488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] There has been an extended meeting of the government commission dealing with the population who have left their permanent residences in the Armenian SSR. It was pointed out at the meeting that according to the latest information more than 130,000 Azerbaijanis living in Armenia have arrived in the republic. More than 30,000 of them have not changed their apartments. Most of them have been settled in private homes, their relatives' homes, or sometimes at homes of people whom they do not know at all. In many rayons and villages of the republic [words indistinct] have been created for the refugees.

In the meantime great explanatory work is being carried out for the people's return to their native homes. Attention will also be constantly focused on this work in the future. But in a number of rayons necessary attention is not being paid to the needs and concern of people who had to leave their native homes. It is necessary to show care to the refugees, to meet them with love, to listen to them, and to help them by all means to ensure their living and domestic conditions. Today, the main duty is to build residential housing everywhere. The important question of (?placement) at work of the population settled in many rayons and villages of the republic was also discussed.

The question of children remains more [words indistinct]. At present in many places work has started on (?providing) children with studies and (?useful) social education. The question of sending pupils to resorts for free vacations allocated by AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee is also being solved. But the speed and measure of this work still does not correspond to the demand. It was noted at the meeting that there is more than R7 million in the accounts Care and Aid and other societies. Most of these funds have been sent to the relief work for refugees. Nevertheless, under this humanitarian attitude [words indistinct].

In the meantime it was especially noted at the meeting that all efforts of forces that attempt to abuse the fabricated problem called the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which is against restructuring, must by all means be repelled. At the meeting held at the CPSU Central Committee and at the press conference of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Yerevan it was once again confirmed that unnecesary emotions about the destiny of Nagorno-Karabakh have no basis. Now is the time to solve specific problems. It is a noble task of all party, soviet, economic, trade unions, and Komsomol organizations, work collectives and, every resident of our republic to ease the difficulties of our compatriots.

Gasan Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the meeting of the commission. Comrades [word indistinct] Gasanov, Telman Orudzhov, Artur Rasi- Zade, Dadash Asanov, Elmira Gaffarova, Ziyad Samed-Zade, and Aleksandrov took part in the meeting.

18 Dec Session on 'Human Factor'

PM1912115188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report under the rubric "Our Pain and Tragedy": "At a Turning Point. At CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission"]

[Text] The human factor—here, in the disaster zone, this concept acquires special meaning. The human, humane factor counteracts the blind elements. Under the conditions of this tough counteraction a strict and impartial test of the mental and professional qualities of everyone—particularly those entrusted with organizing things—is being conducted. Someone's sleepless night and someone's will and organizational skill lie behind any change for the better that has occurred over 24 hours. It is no coincidence that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission takes into account not only the tremendous material and technical resources which the country has given the republic but also people's characters and the human factor. Particularly in cases when it is necessary urgently to "undo" a particular bottleneck arising in the course of eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake.

It was pointed out at the commission's latest working conference that the unloading of freight cars has become such a bottleneck in the last few days. There is an unprecedented flow of freight into Armenia, and stations are failing to cope on their own with the handling of freight cars. Hence the jams on the main lines adjacent to the affected zone and the trains' reduced speed of movement. In order promptly to alter the situation the commission has set up a staff with the task of ensuring the daily unloading of at least 2,000 railroad cars. V.I. Manayev, deputy chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, and M.S. Minasbekyan, first secretary of Yerevan party gorkom, have been entrusted with organizing the uninterrupted accelerated unloading of cars. The commission has appealed to Yerevan Komsomol members to help in handling the cars so as to give the green light to the trains which are so essential in the disaster zone.

These trains are carrying not only equipment and construction materials. Many of them are carrying volunteer detachments formed by the agro-industrial committees of all the union republics. Their task is to help to restore normal economic life in the villages which were hit by the earthquake and which have therefore been severely depopulated. To help in construction, in the wintering of livestock, in preparations for spring field work. This is extremely important, for the agriculture of this region plays a significant role in supplying the republic with food. It was decided at the conference that trains carrying volunteers must proceed without delay.

With every passing day life is increasingly returning to normal in the disaster-struck rayons. The Kirovakan Meat Combine's water supply has been restored, and the enterprise is beginning to produce output. Bakeries are operating. The number of stores and mobile stores has increased significantly, and stable supplies of hot food and prepacked foodstuffs are being arranged for the population and for everyone involved in reconstruction work. The food and clothes sent to the republic by way of free aid are being distributed without delays.

Over the past 24 hours 7,640 people have left the areas of the natural disaster in an organized manner. Half of them have gone to sanatoriums and rest homes. On 19 December 4,500 children are leaving for children's sanatorium establishments in Anapa with their mothers and teachers. It was pointed out at the working conference that thanks to the harmonious actions of trade unions and transport workers and the truly nationwide assistance, this important stage in eliminating the aftermath of the tragedy—the evacuation of children, women, and old people—is drawing to a close. In 2 or 3 days' time only those directly involved in reconstruction work will be left in the earthquake zone.

The commission continued examining specific steps to implement the party and government decisions on giving large-scale assistance to the population of Armenia hit by the earthquake.

The position of pensioners, invalids, elderly single people, orphan children, disabled children—of everyone in the disaster zone in the state's care to one degree or another—was examined as a separate issue. N.M. Balayan, Armenian SSR minister of social security, delivered a report.

She said that virtually the entire contingent of these persons has been evacuated from the region and housed in appropriate sociomedical centers. In particular, collectives of training and production enterprises of the blind and deaf society have been evacuated to the Ukraine with the help of airmen. Georgia has cordially welcomed disabled children. Pensioners and invalids arriving at new places of residence can receive benefits at once, without red tape—the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and Finance Ministry have issued corresponding instructions.

At a time of grim trials, N.M. Balayan said, our entire multinational country has shown maternal concern for those who need it most of all. We bow down low for this.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission supported a number of petitions submitted by the republic's Ministry of Social Security, particularly for the construction of boarding houses and special apartment blocks for the elderly to be included in the list of priority projects. Corresponding instructions have been issued to the republic Council of Ministers and the USSR Gosplan.

N.I. Ryzhkov briefed the conference participants on the results of his conversation with Per Stenback, general secretary of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, who was visiting Yerevan, during which a preliminary accord was reached on the expediency of constructing a modern hospital and a prosthesis production enterprise in the Armenian SSR with the league's help. This step too has been dictated by concern for those who have suffered as a result of the earthquake.

The Spitak Ridge separating the Ararat Valley and the capital of Armenia from the republic's northern rayons hit by the earthquake is already covered with snow. This morning Spitak was hit by a wind. "We must hurry!"—these words are now in the thoughts and on the lips of thousands of people involved in eliminating the earthquake aftermath. Members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission drove here right after the morning conference to establish the work progress on the spot, to meet with people, and to learn their needs.

The mounds of buildings razed to the ground still lie all over the city. But the shock and the sense of fear and confusion have passed. The shoots of normal, organized life have appeared like small islands of winter crops pushing up. In the main streets there are light dining pavilions. A mobile bathhouse and laundry. Instead of the names of former streets there are signs: "Trade Union Aid Staff," "Komsomol Staff," "Agro-industrial Committee Staff..."

Everyone has been thrown into the last rescue operation—getting people out who are buried beneath the rubble. There is little hope of rescuing them. But, however complex it may be, no one has the right to begin the total clearance of plant and factory territories without completing this operation.

N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, and D.T. Yazov together with S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, met with collectives of the city's enterprises. It became apparant from a conversation at the elevator production plant that help from cranes and dump trucks is needed. It is difficult to work at the bread products combine too. Mine rescue workers from the Polish city of Wroclaw are working here together with Soviet specialists.

The questions "What to eat?" and "Where to live?"—which people here were asking only a week ago—have been replaced by others: How and where will we build? They are being put to the commission chairman by the male sector of the population, as it is called, military-style, in the staff documents. Having sent their women, children, and old people to sanatoriums, the men are living in tents and early in the morning they go as a team to a project to clear a path through the piles of rubble to the new, future Spitak. Together with them several thousand Soviet Army soldiers and officers and dozens of volunteer detachments which have come here from all over the country and from abroad are day by day resurrecting life in the city. The path to Spitak is a path of genuine fraternity.

19 Dec Meeting on Future Plans

PM2012095588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report on 19 Dec CPSU Central Commitee Politburo Earthquake Commission session; "Criterion of the Future"]

[Text] Even in the conditions of the most urgent, strenuous, or sometimes emergency work one should retain a feeling for the future and should work in the name of both today and tomorrow. This criterion—the criterion—the criterion of the future—can be found even more often and persistently within the system of criteria and measures which determine and move forward the work aimed at eliminating the consequences of the tragic earthquake.

Today's stage of work—the second stage—is not restricted to rebuilding towns and villages from ruins. It also includes care about human destinies, about the restoration of many human links which were cruelly severed by the elements. And what can be more noble and what promotes the future more than helping children to find their parents or relatives or helping fathers and mothers to recover their young children?

Significantly, today's working conference of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission opened with an improvised brief discussion of an information bulletin which has come off the press in Yerevan with the supplements "HOPE" and "SEARCH" produced in a multiple-page format. These supplements contain lists, addresses, photographs, descriptions of children and their letters, parents, and relatives' inquiries—in a word, everything that can contribute to the reunification of relatives. It is a daily bulletin, it is distributed free of charge, and it is produced in their free time by journalists from the republican newspaper KOMSOMOLETS and the SEMYA weekly, with assistance from the Komsomol and the Soviet Lenin Children Fund. The bulletin is published in Russian and Armenian, its print run is

100,000 copies, and it will be circulated not only in the republic but in all the country's towns which have given refuge and shelter to those who have suffered from the disaster.

Outlines of the future are now gradually appearing. The municipal economy is being restored in Leninakan and regular bus services have begun there. Armenian motor transportation workers received with great gratitude the news of the arrival of a Moscow Motor Transport Convoy consisting of several new Ikarus buses. This column is a fraternal gift from the capital's transportation workers to the areas hit by the disaster. Both Leninakan and Spitak, which were not long ago still submerged in darkness, are now almost totally illuminated. Whereas in the first days after the catastrophe people were receiving without payment foodstuffs to the value of R1.5-2 a day, they are now receiving foodstuffs to the value of R5.5. A total of 70,094 people have been taken from the disaster zone. Of these 33,053, mostly children, old men, and women, have been accommodated in the country's best sanatoriums.

Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who spoke at a working conference, reported that preparation of the building plans are being completed for Leninakan, Spitak, and the affected areas of Kirovakan, and he dwelt on some of the particularities of the building. The chief ones were the significantly increased seismic stability of the buildings and the preservation of national color. It is planned to present some designs for judgement of public opinion on Thursday by means of the republic's television and press.

A number of operational questions were also resolved at the conference. The unloading of freight cars still remains the center of the work to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake.

It has been proposed to the headquarters formed 24 hours ago that it should set up a three-shift sliding schedule for unloading work and also use the approach roads of enterprises and industrial dead-end roads for the processing of freight cars; and that it should more strictly coordinate the work of railroad workers, transportation workers, and recipients of freight.

The commission is maintaining under unremitting control the epidemiological situation in the regions of the disaster. The union and republican ministries of health, together with the State Agro-Industrial Committee, have been instructed to transfer the brunt of their work directly into the countryside, to strengthen sanitary protection there, and to speed up hygiene work. Note was made of the inadmissible lagging behind in the dismantling of rubble at destroyed farms and houses. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission demanded that the State Agro-Industrial Committees of the union and of the republic should not delay in the vicinity of rayon centers, but go to the very heart of the countryside and take more care of its workers. Measures have been taken to strengthen the technical base of restoration work in the countryside, and also to transfer by plane to Armenia voluntary detachments formed here by the agroproms of union republics to help villages.

V.M. Nikiforov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, talked about the organization of receiving help from foreign states, and about the state of work with foreign specialists engaged in the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake.

V.P. Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, reported that in the process of carrying out service and rescue work, employees of the internal affairs bodies and servicemen have discovered and handed over to finance bodies money and valuables totalling about R10 million. The situation in the disaster zone is normal. People are displaying discipline and awareness. Together with this, said V.P. Trushin, more and more evidence is coming to light showing that the leaders of the "Karabakh" committee have not limited their activities to the organization of meetings, strikes, and provocative calls. Envoys of the committee, in various regions of the republic, have organized mass provocations against some of the population, acted as instigators in driving people out of their homes, and subsequently destroyed and set fire to these homes. Even now the committee's activists have not ceased their activity. They single out mainly teachers and students. They should be countered by efficient and convincing actions of party and Komsomol organs.

Overcoming negative phenomena, consolidating all the healthy forces of society, and strengthening the feelings of friendship and mutual assistance between the country's peoples, thanks to which towns and villages in the quake zone are being reborn today—this also means creating in the name of the future.

N.N. Slyunkov, D.T. Yazov, and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the conference chaired by N.I.Ryzhkov.

In the afternoon N.I. Ryzhkov and N.N. Slyunkov toured Yerevan, visited stores, and familiarized themselves with the organization of public catering. They spoke about the importance of saturating the market with high-quality goods under the conditions of restructuring the economic mechanism. The output of the republic's light industry, especially footwear and knitwear, is in great demand. The share of cooperative enterprises in broadening the range of goods is growing. It accounts for 15 percent of the entire goods turnover of the footwear shop of the "Masis" firm, which members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission visited.

Conversations in the stores and during a walk about the town returned again and again to the main worry of the republic and the entire country: the speediest elimination of the consequences of the earthquake.

Of course, not all the inhabitants of the capital have seen with their own eyes the picture of destruction in Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan. They ask members of the commission to describe what the situation is like at the epicenter of the disaster.

Once we have found time to talk to you, N.I. Ryzhkov replies, you can reckon that the situation is stabilizing. The search work is coming to an end. With the start-up of the wrecked part of the railroad line, the long-awaited trains carrying heavy construction equipment will arrive, with detachments of volunteers who will soon get down to restoring the towns and villages.

Students ask what the new towns will look like. As far as Spitak is concerned, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission has discussed this with the scientists and engineers and has not yet made a final decision on where to restore the town: it turned out that Spitak was built on stone blocks, beneath which is an ominous crossroads of two deep breaks in the earth's crust.

You can acquaint yourselves with the plans for the restoration of Leninakan, the chairman of the commission said, this week. You will read it in the newspapers and immediately begin active discussion of it; everyone from the chief architect to the housewife will have their say.

The commission has more than once considered the matter of where and how to build the destroyed towns, said S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Everyone has the same opinion: These should not be the standard concrete boxes, but real Armenian towns, taking into account the traditions of national culture and life. Towns which will be a worthy monument to the true fraterntiy displayed by all Soviet republics at a difficult time for Armenia.

From time to time words of gratitude to the country for its assistance interrupt the conversation. People reach out their hands to shake hands and ask for cordial greetings to be conveyed to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. They thank the people of Moscow, Tbilisi, Stavropol, Saratov—everyone who came to lend a hand in the very first hours.

An elderly Yerevan man, addressing N.I. Ryzhkov, said: Forty-four years ago I was with those who liberated Sevastopol, and I am now grateful with all my heart that all the country together is lifting the calamity from my native Armenia. Together we will overcome all adversity.

A press conference was held this evening in Yerevan for Soviet and foreign journalists. Taking part in it were N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, Yu. D. Maslyukov, D.T. Yazov, S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and Yu. P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

More on Ryzhkov-Stenbaeck Talks

PM1912110788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Talk in Yerevan"]

[Text] On 17 December N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission and of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Paer Stenbaeck, secretary general of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, who is in Yerevan.

During a friendly conversation attended by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission, it was noted that aid rendered to the population of the Armenian SSR through the channels of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement has been prompt and well coordinated and deserves high praise.

Expressing gratitude for this humanitarian aid, N.I. Ryzhkov briefed P. Stenbaeck on the course and preliminary results of the rescue operations in the disaster area. He also noted that the focus of the effort to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake will begin to shift to restoration work in the near future. A conference held today and attended by a large group of leaders of union ministries who have arrived in Yerevan was devoted to this subject.

P. Stenbaeck emphasized the great importance of close and more effective coordination of international efforts in rendering assistance to natural disaster victims. He praised the promptness and flexibility of the decisions adopted in the USSR in connection with the earthquake and noted the impressive ability of Soviet air transport to carry out large-scale airlifts. During the conversation a common understanding was expressed of the advisability of concentrating the aid of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent in the future on the construction in the Armenian SSR of a modern hospital and a plant for the production of prosthetic appliances.

Also taking part in the conversation were also F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, and D.D. Venediktov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Ryzhkov Meets Mother Theresa

LD1912123388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 19 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov met with Mother Theresa, Nobel Peace Prize winner, superior of the missionaries of charity, here today.

Mother Teresa expressed deep condolences in view of the tragedy suffered by Armenia. She stated readiness to send nuns to Moscow and Yerevan to give aid to earthquake victims.

Nikolay Ryzhkov, having warmly thanked her for the kind feelings, compassion, and the offered aid, pointed out that the humane mission of Mother Teresa was known and highly appreciated in the Soviet Union. He wished her successes in her unselfish charitable and peace-making activities.

Taking part in the conversation were Comrades Slyunkov, Arutyunyan, and Nikiforov.

TV Shows Mother Theresa Meeting

LD1912214488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today in Yerevan Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov met with Mother Theresa, mother superior of the missionaries of charity, nobel peace prize winner. Comrade Slyunkov, Comrade Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Comrade Nikiforov, deputy USSR foreign minister, took part in the conversation.

[Begin recording] [Mother Theresa in English fading into Russian translation] All I can do for people is to give them my sisters who will take care of people, who will show kindness and love toward those who suffer. I wish to send my sisters here, the sisters of my order.

[Ryzhkov] We felt that the entire world community received this tragedy with pain.

[Mother Theresa] It is a terrible suffering, a terrible calamity. I see what good care is taken of the victims in hospitals. They are cared for very well, with great love.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, we too visited a hospital several days ago, where seriously injured people are hospitalized. Of course, they are in very serious condition. We became convinced, however, that everything that is essential is being done there.

[Mother Theresa] I saw a completely unusual picture in a children's hospital yesterday evening. I saw two very small children and I was told that the nurse taking care of them intended to adopt them.

[Ryzhkov] There are very many people who wish to do so. We receive a colossal number of applications. However, for the time being we have decided not to tackle this matter. We publish, [Ryzhkov reaches for a newspaper with many photographs, extends it across table to Mother Theresa] well, this is what the paper publishes.

[Arutyunyan] This is a search for parents.

[Ryzhkov] A search for parents.

[Arutyunyan] Nikolay Ivanovich, show the lists, too. The lists are also published there.

[Ryzhkov] These are lists of children. We distribute 100,000 such papers throughout the republic. [end recording] [video shows Mother Theresa shaking hands with Ryzhkov, Arutyunyan, Slyunkov and Nikiforov and then sitting with two unidentified women across table facing Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Arutyunyan and Nikiforov right to left on screen]

Arutyunyan TV Address to Armenians 17 Dec

PM1912122088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report giving "abbreviated" account of 17 December television address by Armenian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary S. Arutyunyan: "S. Arutyunyan: The Whole Country Is With Us Today"]

[Text] On the evening of 17 December S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, appeared on television to address the population of the republic. IZVESTIYA has received the text of his address, which is published with some abbreviations.

The leader of the republic Communist Party spoke in the hour of the great disaster afflicting the Armenian people. He said:

Our entire country and all the world are stunned by the scale of this unprecedented earthquake. At the epicenter of the earthquake the force of the shocks reached 10.5 points. The zone of great devastation included 4 cities—Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan, and Stepanavan—and 365 rural settlements in Akhuryanskiy, Spitakskiy, Stepanavanskiy, Gugarkskiy, Amasiyskiy, Gukasyanskiy, and Aragatsskiy Rayons and the adjacent rayons. Fifty-eight villages were totally destroyed. Some 500,000 people were left homeless. Tens of thousands of people died—men, women, old people, and children. Our grief is great, our sorrow for the dead is boundless.

On behalf of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, I wish once again to express our sincere condolences, from the bottom of our hearts, to the relatives and friends of those who died and to all the Armenian people. May the universal sympathy alleviate the pain of those who grieve and awaken constructive strengths in troubled souls. It is not yet possible to determine the total sum of the damage sustained by the republic. I can only give an approximate figure. Restoring what was lost will require a minimum of R5 billion. I believe events will amend that figure substantially.

The earthquake has set a grave test for the people and for our republic. In order to pass that test we need exceptional staunchness, selflessness, extreme efforts by the collective mind, and great strength of spirit. To our people's honor, it must be said that they have showed to the full their finest qualities developed over the centuries.

From the first hours after the natural disaster all our efforts were concentrated on the most important thing—beginning to clear the ruins as quickly as possible and rescue people. All our potential was mobilized urgently to free those who were left under the rubble.

By midday all the equipment available in the republic had been gathered together and had set off in the direction of the afflicted cities and villages. By evening more than 200 machines—cranes, bulldozers, and excavators—were working to clear the rubble.

In the evening, on the initiative of labor collectives in Yerevan and the nearby cities, columns of many thousands of people had been formed, and immediately set off to clear the rubble.

Confidence was inspired in us by a telegram sent from New York by M.S. Gorbachev expressing sincere sympathy and support. The Armenian people received with gratitude the fact that Mikhail Sergeyevich, having learned of the tremendous disaster that had struck Armenia, broke off his foreign tour and returned home in order to become directly involved in the work of overcoming the consequences of the earthquake. Mikhail Sergeyevich immediately flew to the epicenter of the disaster and shared our grief. We felt with new force that today the whole country, all Soviet people, are with Armenia.

As you know, in order to coordinate work on a union-wide scale a CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission was set up, headed by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. In the morning of 8 December Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, along with commission members Comrades N.N. Slyunkov, D.T. Yazov, Yu.P. Batalin, and L.A. Voronin, arrived in the republic and began work. We express the most profound gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo for organizing the commission and for its activity. We will always remember with gratitude and respect the zealous work of the commission members here in Armenia.

The main, most important concern was to rescue people. On the first day, and on the second, third, fourth, fifth, and subsequent days, we continued to bring out from the ruins tens, hundreds of victims. Reports are still coming in about people being rescued—exhausted, drained, but alive. Every single life saved is a victory for the great cause we all serve today.

Today, as rescue work is still in progress and a struggle is under way for every human life, I wish to express sincere gratitude to those who are participating directly in eliminating the consequences of the natural disaster, and to those who support the republic's people with words of sympathy and humane acts, who share our grief, and who are sending essential goods and money to the republic.

People now need not only medical help, not only a roof over their heads. We must surround with human concern and warmth our fellow citizens afflicted by the earthquake. We must support the depressed, give hope to the despairing, and heal spiritual wounds with mercy and compassion.

Our intelligentsia should be among people every day and every hour. Much now depends on the healing words of scientists, writers, and artists, first and foremost the people's moral condition. Do not wait for orders or instructions, but go yourself to the disaster zone, bring the truth to your shattered fellow citizens, and restore the damaged roots.

It is necessary to arm people with confidence in tomorrow. All the brother peoples are selflessly extending a helping hand to us. Hand in hand we will revitalize our land. We see this as a continuation of the internationalist traditions of Ashkhabad and Tashkent, which were raised from the ruins by the force of friendship and mutual assistance, the force of the Leninist nationalities policy.

The grief and hope of Armenia is in millions of hearts. They are not only an active factor for fraternity, but also a factor for peace, a step in the direction of the new political thinking. The greatly afflicted Armenian land is the epicenter of cooperation and human compassion from all people of the earth.

Our people, S. Arutyunyan went on to say, have a thousand years of history, a thousand years of wisdom. These teach us: In the hour of need, you must mobilize to the utmost all your staunchness, energy, and love of life. Our people have a thousand years of traditions. These tell us: When a great grief comes to your house, the voices of quarrels and even justified grievances must fall silent, giving way to understanding and cohesion. We may be hardened by grief, by disaster, but we may not break.

Today, when the struggle for human lives is under way every hour and every minute in the disaster region, in hospitals and field hospitals; when the whole republic—young and old—is working to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake in a united effort, without resting; when people cannot hold back the tears when they read the newspapers and watch television—the attempts by groups of irresponsible individuals to exacerbate the situation and cause confusion in people's hearts can only be called sacrilege.

In the days of nationwide grief, when life and death are in the balance, the contrast between the heights of the human spirit and the baseness of evil intentions is much more marked. Tragedy allows no guile—it reveals who is who.

Operations in the republic are proceeding at an urgent pace, unusual, unexpected situations are arising all the time. It is not always possible to find the right solution in time. The maximum intensity of effort is required from everyone. In these conditions, what can one say about the actions of the leaders of the "Karabakh" committee, who seek out the blunders and failures of coordination that are, unfortunately, inevitable in such an emergency, spread rumors and conjectures about them, and inflame passions? What can one say about those who introduce confusion and muddle into the very difficult work of rescuing people and clearing the ruins in which we are all engaged today, and try to create the appearance that they themselves are useful against this background?

We must face up to the truth. The activity of such people is based on political adventurism and the desire to seize the initiative and gain an exaggerated authority through pompous talk.

For these forces, all the people's sacred feelings—be they the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh or concern for children afflicted by the disaster—are nothing more than bargaining counters in their game of big politics. There are such forces in our republic, and also in Azerbaijan. Sometimes the coordinated way in which they operate is astonishing. Their inflammatory efforts have already led to the kindling of national discord, bloodshed, and enmity. People have been forced to move from familiar places—from Azerbaijan to Armenia, from Armenia to Azerbaijan. And if man is still impotent against the raging elements, we must all stop the raging forces of ethnic disunity.

We are on the brink of the abyss. It is time to take thought, to overcome mutual grievances, to pacify people. Our peoples have lived alongside each other for centuries. And we must continue to live side by side.

At the September (1988) Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee we put forward a constructive program for consolidating forces in the republic, which was adopted and approved by the people. But every time a real possibility of unity emerged, the leaders of the "Karabakh" committee did everything to ensure that the split continued again, that the confrontation was exacerbated, that the situation in the republic became even more tense. Today they are still actively continuing the line of undermining society's moral health, forgetting that in a civilized society, in a house of trouble it is customary to keep silent or offer assistance. Stepping up the confrontation and stirring up people's emotions is not merely immoral. It is criminal, in our situation.

The process of renewal that has begun in the republic is clearly not to the liking of the political adventurists. Demagogically exploiting the mechanism of democracy, they try to retard our progress and take the upper hand. In their cynical opinion, the disaster that struck our people should not distract anyone from holding demonstrations and putting pressure on the authorities. It is not grief for the dead or pity for the victims that moves them. In pursuit of their selfish objectives, they do not shrink from openly playing on people's national feelings and speculating on real difficulties.

Political adventurism is only one step away from spiritual looting. There are, for instance, amoral elements who frighten the people with the possibility of a new, even more terrible earthquake. Some people telephone institutions and apartments to warn of disaster, causing panic and demoralizing the population.

Wild rumors are started to the effect that they want to take the children away from Armenia, separate them from the people, and raise them away from their roots. And that this is part of some kind of program for resettling the Armenian people in Siberia.

Clashes with the forces of the patrol service are provoked, as a result of which people get hurt. And this at a time when people are so badly needed to help unload aircraft, care for the injured, and organize information for relatives who have lost each other; when servicemen are badly needed in the disaster area.

Do we not have a right to call to account these madmen who sow dissension in our ranks at a time when the utmost cohesion and organization are required? It is time resolutely to cut short attempts to make use of the people's troubles and suffering as a speculative pretext for exacerbating the situation and manipulating public opinion. It is time to give an unequivocal assessment of all who hamper restructuring and disrupt the process of renewing the republic.

No one can evade the truth. The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh exists. Ways to resolve it are being sought. This was stated frankly during the December meeting at the CPSU Central Committee and in M.S. Gorbachev's interview given to correspondents of Central Television and Armenian television. But at the moment there is no more important concern, no more important problem for the Armenian people and the country as a whole than the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake.

In the tragedy that occurred in the Armenian mountains, no one can be a passive observer. Work, and work alone, is in the forefront. There are casualties, victims, who are being helped by the rescued and the survivors. With the support of our brothers—and today this means literally the whole country, the whole planet—we must without delay help those whom the disaster felled to rise to their feet again.

Armenia must stand firm. That is the behest of our ancestors. It is the sacred duty of our generation to centuries of our history. Our duty to [Armenian historical figures] Mesrop Mashtots and Grigor Narekatsi; to the ruins of Ani [ancient Armenian city sacked by Turks, deserted after 1319 earthquake], which, alas, we cannot restore; our duty to Avetik Isaakyan [Soviet Armenian poet], whose cradle, Shirak, was the epicenter of the disaster and which we will certainly restore... It is our duty to the children orphaned in Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan, and Stepanavan and in our mountain villages, big and small. They have to live and build in these places.

We must fulfill that duty.

The first plans for the cities and villages to be restored will be submitted for nationwide discussion in the near future. Our public must have their well-considered say. The plans must harmoniously incorporate both the leading ideas of modern urban planning and the age-old traditions, the unique features of our way of life.

Our people, who have survived many adversities, privations, and disasters, will withstand this terrible trial too and will emerge from it still more cohesive and staunch. They will overcome everything with their industriousness and strength of spirit, with the fraternal assistance of all the Soviet peoples.

Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan, Stepanavan, and our other cities and villages will rise from the ruins and become still more lovely. Our ancient land will continue to flourish.

Arutunyan Radio Address Praises Army Efforts

PM2012140988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 First Edition p1

[Unattributed report: "Words From the Heart"]

[Text] S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke on republican radio on 17 December. He highly appraised the actions of the Army in the disaster regions:

"I cannot fail to express heartfelt words of gratitude to these military servicemen. Thousands of Soviet Army servicemen and members of the internal forces, teams of military doctors, and a large quantity of military equipment are very actively involved in the rescue operation work. Armed Forces and civil aviation aircraft and helicopters are carrying people out of the area and bringing in materials and equipment. Field kitchens have been set up and catering organized. It took military road builders 5 days and nights of intensive, constant work to bring the Leninakan-Kirovakan railroad into operation again."

Activities of Karabakh Committee Considered

TRUD on Activists

PM1912155188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Dec 88 p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Guz article: "Whose Purpose Does This Serve?]

[Text] Yerevan—I have long wanted to talk in a newspaper about my worries and heartaches. Not only mine, but also those of all the soldiers and officers in our unit, which has been entrusted with performing its difficult duties in Yerevan over the past few days. It goes without saying—and this is not only my opinion—that it is much more important during such difficult days of nationwide grief that has befallen our common home for us to be alongside the thousands of fighters clearing up Spitak and Leninakan and rescuing the people still alive under the ruins of the population centers which have been destroyed by the disaster. How useful the strong hands of our splendid lads and the electricians, lathe operators, and drivers of yesteryear are there now and how necessary the experience of our commander organizers is there today....

Unfortunately, the situation is such that we are still forced to keep subunits there to patrol and maintain public order in the city. The point is that even today during this difficult time of courage and trial for the peoples of Armenia and the entire country, a time that necessitates even greater unity and concentration of material reserves and all physical and spiritual forces, individual irresponsible elements are continuing to stir up trouble in the republic. They are trying to bring to fruition their own political aspirations through their blatantly ambitious and extremist thrust. By inflammatory activity, intimidation, blackmail, and threats, by spreading rumors and conjectures they are destabilizing the situation in the city and in the republic and are flagrantly flouting the laws of humanity and mankind. I mean the "zealots of the Armenian people" from the so-called "Karabakh" committee, which was disbanded several months ago as an organization that was effectively carrying out subversive work against restructuring. But restructuring, as is well known, is targeted notably at eradicating corruption and the clandestine business of various artel and shop members...

During my time here I have seen that the committee members do not balk at any means of achieving their goals, which are, of course, far removed from general national interests. I first encountered Khachik Stamboltsyan, one of the "leaders," in Theater Square, where he was acting the role of an organizer of a rally unsanctioned by the local authorities that turned into a demonstration. I can still see his hate-filled eyes and hear his sibilant threats: "I am sorry for you, or rather not so much for you as for your children, who may be left as orphans. If I am not released in 15 minutes, the theater will explode...." I managed to meet other members of the "Karabakh" committee with my fellow soldiers at their "headquarters," which is in the Writer's Union building. You can only marvel that the dead are still being found and buried in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Stepanavan and thousands of workers, engineers, designers, scientists, students, and medics from Yerevan, Tbilisi, and Moscow are striving day and night to rescue the victims and restore what has been destroyed by the disaster. Yet here in a still office selfish plans are being put forward and implemented by a handful of "Karabakh" members.

In order not to make unsubstantiated statements, let me cite just a small number of the pile of pamphlets, various ultimatums, and appeals that we saw at the "headquarters" and on the wall of apartment blocks. One document signed "People's Avengers" demands the immediate closure of the AES, that is, they are prepared to paralyze life in the republic overnight. "Only a father who does not turn traitor in the face of a disaster," the authors of the "ultimatum" exhort, "is a real father. But government officials on whom the resolution of the question depends will be sentenced to DEATH. Three days is the time given to Armenia's leaders to become real Armenians. If they don't, even their sons and grandsons won't escape vengeance." That's the tone....

Other proclamations contain the same threats and intimidation and calls to reject the Soviet people's aid to the victims. They contain demands for the government and the media to stop...propagandizing internationalism. Apparently the authors of these writings are now also circulating ridiculous rumors that the Army specially exploded a nuclear bomb under Leninakan in order to distract the Armenian people from the Karabakh movement. The rumor is that they were afraid to do this in Yerevan solely because of the AES. What a foul and base lie! It is a matter of complete and utter gibberish. How else can you assess the rumor now being spread round the city that Mount Aragats is supposedly smoking, a volcanic eruption is about to take place, and so the snow on the summit will melt and the water will inundate Yerevan?!

But what unbridled work the "Karabakh members" and other extremist elements are carrying out to organize demonstrations and various violations of public order! Here is a quite recent case that I witnessed. On the third day of national mourning when hundreds of thousands of their compatriots were grief-stricken, the "Karabakh" committee members provoked riots in a whole series of quarters of the city, including at the "Parus" cafe. Here is how the republic newspaper KOMMUNIST assessed this event in its editorial of 13 December: "How did they respond to calls for order? Didn't A. Manucharyan ("Karabakh" leader—Author) shout: 'We will force them to shoot at us!' What does Manucharyan want? More casualties when thousands of the dead are still waiting to be buried in Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan, and Stepanavan? At times of national grief people's nerves are exposed and any approach to them provokes a sharp reaction. But Manucharyan led these people to the soldiers' barricades, where the soldiers were forced to bar their way."

They included fighters from our subunit. In response to appeals through a megaphone for reason to prevail and for there to be no riots, stones were thrown and shots heard from calivers, sporting guns, and smallbore rifles aimed at the heads of 18- and 19-year old lads, officers, and ensigns, many of whom were wounded and frequently looked death in the face while performing their international duty in Afghanistan. As a result six people were sent to the hospital and three of our buses were smashed to smithereens. That's the true character of the people who organized these riots and who are endeavoring at such a time of tragedy for the Armenian people to complicate the situation still further and distract public attention from the most complex tasks that require close unity and the concentration of all efforts and resources. Destabilization only serves the purpose of various smooth operators who want to get rich through the people's grief and postpone eventual retribution.

People in Armenia are sincerely indignant at the "zealots'" tricks. Here is a characteristic statement that Ensign I. Lepyuk heard from ordinary workers at a bus park where he sent his Lvov Automobile Plant automobile that had been damaged by demonstrators for repair (incidentally, the ensign miraculously escaped with his life when frenzied "fighters" threw themselves on him with spades and metal bars).

"We are indignant at the committee members' actions. We reckon that these riots serve the purpose of the mafia, the masters of the 'black market economy,' and those who want to continue to live in grand style through extortion, speculation, and abuses, and those whom restructuring is driving into a corner...."

The last thing that I would like to say is this. Our soldiers and officers have been in the earthquake zones on several occasions and brought out victims. Who hasn't heard the following (I could amplify, incidentally): Internal troop fighters have brought out and sometimes dug out with their bare hands and rescued more than 650 people and returned valuables worth hundreds of thousands of rubles to their owners and to the state. But I will be blunt and say that we did not see A. Galstyan, S.

Kazaryan, V. Siradegyan, and other "Karabakh" committee members among the numerous Armenian volunteers occupied in the ruins of Spitak, Leninakan, and other cities and villages. That is why they are today going all out to get in with and show evidence of their involvement in this tremendous ever increasing movement of solidarity and compassion that has unfolded throughout the country. They are going all out to stress their imaginary leadership of this purposeful multifaceted work being carried out by the government commission and the republic's party and economic leaders to most speedily eliminate the consequences of the earthquake and return hundreds of thousands of people to normal life and labor. The committee members are meddling unpardonably in the process of shipping freight to the disaster zones and are even writing out their own "travel vouchers" and trying by these actions to effectively disrupt this most important work of offering aid to the victims. I think that it is time to asses such actions on the part of the self-styled "zealots of the Armenian people" in the appropriate fashion.

(Footnote) (The author has asked for all the royalties from this article to be sent to the relief fund for the earthquake victims).

KOMMUNIST Letters on 'Rumors'

PM1912135988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
16 Dec 88 p 4

[Roundup of readers' letters under the general heading: "From the Recent Mailbag"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Yerevan, 15 Dec—The leaders of the "Karabakh" committee are currently circulating all manner of panic rumors, handing out false information, and carrying out provocative actions impeding the implementation of necessary measures to rescue people. The republic newspaper KOMMUNIST wrote about this recently. Today it publishes readers' letters and reactions.

G. Grigoryan, engineer and designer, writes:

"I don't think that there is anyone who would approve of the people who are trying to organize some sort of rally or demonstration during these difficult days. Who or what are their targets when everyone who can is helping the victims?"

"I cannot fail to express my indignation at recent events in Yerevan... How long will individual rabble-rousers claim to act on behalf of all Armenians and engage in circulating the most incredible rumors that are far from the truth about the permanent evacuation from Armenia of children injured as a result of the natural disaster, about repeat earthquakes, and other conjecture and go unpunished for this? Who has given them the right to slander an entire nation?" writes Veteran of Labor N. Stepanyan from Yerevan.

Letters from S. Bagdasaryan, an engineer at Yerevan station; G. Galstyan, course leader at the A. Bakunets Armenian Pedagogical College; and other readers are imbued with a single thought: We need to raise our native land out of the ruins and turn it once again into a prosperous area. The scale of our misfortune is vast. But the calamity will recede if we join together more closely and act on a common front and in a single upsurge.

Certainly, we are aware, the newspaper commented, that the disaster has not only revealed the resources of ethics and moral and spiritual forces. Like the sea swell it raises the troubled silt of human unscrupulousness from the depths. Alas, at this difficult time for the Armenian people, you can see that there is a vast distance between soapbox patriotism and concrete actions on behalf of the nation, between those who swear love for the people and true love, humanity, and compassion for their compatriots.

*Committee Members Listed

WA46050006 Athens AZAT OR in Armenian
7 Oct 88 p 1

[Text] Below are names and occupations of the 11 members of the Karabakh committee:

Rafayel Avetisi Khazaryan: Doctor and professor of technical sciences; director of the physics institute of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

Vano Sembati Serateryan: Writer; member of the Armenian Writers' Union.

Hambartzum Paylaki Galstyan: Doctoral candidate of history; scientific consultant.

Vazgen Minasi Manukyan: Doctoral candidate of physics and mathematics; lecturer in Yerevan University.

Davit Manuki Vardanyan: Doctoral candidate of physics and mathematics; director of laboratories in Yerevan University.

Samson Seryozhayi Khazaryan: History teacher in Middle School 183.

Babgen Gurgeni Ararktzyan: Doctoral candidate of physics and mathematics; member of the faculty of Yerevan University.

Aleksan Hakobi Hakobian: Doctoral candidate of history; research associate in the orientology department of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

Ashot Garniki Manucharyan: Deputy principal of Middle School 183.

Samuel Vlatimiri Gevorgyan: Radio and television commentator.

Levon Hakobi Ter-Petrosyan: Doctor of literature; senior researcher in the Matenadaran [Armenian state library].

*New Armenian Organization, Publication Reported

WA46050006 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 14 Oct 88 pp 4, 6

[Excerpts] **Several movements and organizations have been formed in Soviet Armenia as a result of the birth of the Artsakh movement and political awareness in that country. One of those organizations is the "Association for the Defense of the Armenian Cause." The official press organ of this organization is the HAY DAT [Armenian Cause], a small-circulation mimeographed publication. In its fourth issue, HAY DAT publishes the organization's bylaws and program.**

It appears that the Association is made up of individuals and cells operating in various institutions, creative unions and urban areas. The organization has a pyramid-shaped hierarchy; it has regional and central councils which elect the presidium.

The principal goals of the Association are to work for the reunification of Armenian territories within the Soviet Union with Soviet Armenia, to demand from the Soviet government to recognize the Armenian genocide and to put that issue before the UN and to work for the return of Western Armenia to the Armenian people.

In these pages and in coming issues we will be reprinting excerpts from the fourth issue of HAY DAT. We begin the series with two speeches made at a popular rally held in front of Matenadaran on July 20. Karabakh Committee member Hambartzum Galstyan focuses on the principal requirement of preserving the Armenian nation, which has recently become one of the most prominent issues on the agenda of popular rallies. Soviet Armenian writer Sero Ghanzadyan conveys the Armenian people's anger with regard to the USSR Supreme Soviet's 18 July decision.

[Hambartzoum Galstyan's speech] [passage omitted] If we want to survive in the next millenium as a national and ethnic entity, we must implement a certain program of political, cultural and economic action. Of course this issue cannot be completely examined in one speech or even over one year. Today, I would like to speak about a problem that has been raised numerous times: the Armenian language.

I do not want to be too dramatic, but the situation is truly serious. We are losing the Armenian language. [passage omitted]

Today, in Yerevan every fourth Armenian child is educated in a foreign language. The same situation exists in higher education. It is time that the government of Armenia—if it is truly the government of Armenia entrusted with the duty of defending the interests of the Armenian nation—feel obligated to protect and to develop the Armenian language which has been declared the official language of our Republic. We are working on publishing a program on this issue, but it appears that the taboos on this subject have not been completely discarded and that our medicine men are still afraid to talk about it. An atmosphere of general intolerance must be created with respect to people who do not have a good command of the mother tongue. [passage omitted]

[Sero Ghanzadyan's speech] [passage omitted] The 18 July meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet showed that our supreme state authority which has been created with the blood and sweat of the Armenian people and which was saved with the blood of Armenian soldiers is not the democrat we expected. It became evident that most of the members of the Presidium are full of indifference and even hostility toward the most ancient and the most mistreated piece of Armenia, the Nagorno-Karabakh, which has been enslaved by the Azerbaijani SSR for 65 years. It became clear that the Armenian people do not have the protection of the supreme state authority, namely the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

I was proud of the posture of the Armenian delegates at the Presidium's meeting. They spoke on behalf of human conscience and justice. I was also pleased with the speeches of a few foreign comrades. However, they remained a minority before the obstacles raised by the majority.

My dear friends, the government of our Republic is finally on our side, on the side of the people, alas after an inexcusable delay. I believe that our leadership is spearheading our just struggle. Therefore let us support the stance of the present leadership of our Republic. I must also state proudly that Henrik Pokhosyan, who is physically small but sublime and indomitable like Karabakh, overwhelmed the anti-Armenian fanatics and the "Vozhdiks" who are completely unaware of the Karabakh problem. [passage omitted]

Ministry Official on Situation in Republics

LD1912112988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] At the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs an operations headquarters is working around the clock, receiving all information from Armenia and Azerbaijan. Our correspondent contacted the headquarters. Lieutenant-Colonel (Ivan Andreyevich Nikulin), the man in charge of the shift, came to the telephone.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Ivan Andreyevich, what has the latest situation been like in the disaster zone over the weekend and in the last 24 hours?

[(Nikulin)] The situation on Armenian territory remains complicated as before. Work is being carried out to overcome the aftermath of the earthquake. No incidents of law-breaking caused by interethnic relations have been registered. There have been no meetings, demonstrations, or marches in the city of Yerevan. All enterprises and public transportation have been operating without interruption. Seventy-six people have been arrested for violating the curfew in the city.

[Correspondent] What is the latest situation in Azerbaijan?

[(Nikulin)] The situation as regards the Republic's socioeconomic life is stabilizing on Azerbaijani territory. Industrial enterprises, transportation, trade network organizations, public catering and community services have been working normally.

No interethnic conflicts have been registered. In the Republic as a whole 282 people have been arrested for violating the curfew. Some 365 firearms have been confiscated, and 78 have been handed over voluntarily for storage.

[Correspondent] Does this mean hunting rifles or private arms?

[(Nikulin)] Yes, yes, only hunting rifles.

[Correspondent] (Ivan Andreyevich), what is your forecast; how will the situation develop on the territory of these two Transcaucasus republics in the immediate future?

[(Nikulin)] We presume that the situation will improve on the territory of Armenia and Azerbaijan in the next few days. [end recording]

Armenia, Azerbaijan Face Postquake Crime Problems

'Krunk' Aides Face Charges

PM1912103988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

["Own information" report: "Investigation Under Way"]

[Text] As reported in PRAVDA earlier, a group of wheeler-dealers connected with the banned "Krunk" committee have been arrested. An investigation has established that A.M. Manucharov headed a group of corrupt criminals who managed to appropriate particularly large sums of money.

Manucharov's accomplices—V.Z. Arakelyan, S.R. Atoyan, Sh.I. Vanesyan, A.D. Nersesyan, A.A. Barsegyan, G.V. Mesropyan, A.Kh. Kasyan, A.M. Abramyan, A.Ye. Babayan, and R.S. Sarkisyan—were arrested with him. This group transformed the Stepanakert construction materials combine headed by Manucharov and the civic services bureau into sources of unearned income, misappropriated consignments of marble and granite, and took bribes for the erection of tombstones.

According to a statement for the press by A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy general prosecutor, there is enough evidence to date to charge them with embezzlement. It is stressed that Manucharov and his accomplices made money from people's grief. The greed of the leader of the banned "Krunk" committee and his corrupt group can evoke nothing but revulsion.

'Renegades' Arrested in Baku

PM1912140988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
18 Dec 88 p 3

[Report by own correspondent T. Kasumova: "It Is Time To Establish Order, Azerbaijan's Working People Are Demanding"]

[Excerpt] Baku—[passage omitted] The situation in Baku has now outwardly returned to normal. There are fewer tanks and military personnel on the streets. Enterprises are hard at work and the majority of them have declared 17 and 18 December subbotniks, in order to make up the ground lost during the strikes. Labor collectives have decided that some of the money earned in this way will be transferred to the fund to aid people in need.

But it is too early yet, of course, to talk about everything being fine and dandy. Not everyone has calmed down; there are still renegades who have not abandoned their attempts to destabilize the situation—this is evidenced by the military commandant's reports. Here is one of the latest: Criminal action has been taken against Baku residents M. Gaibov, E. Guliyev, and M. Mamedov for theft and for manufacturing and keeping firearms. What did they want them for? Whom were they intending to use them against? The investigation currently being conducted into this and other cases will undoubtedly answer all the questions and reveal the true face and intentions of the instigators and organizers of the events that have taken place.

There is no doubt that they will all get what they deserve. But we can now name those who, although they did not instigate or participate in the disturbances, nevertheless helped incite passions, disrupt the work tempo at enterprises, and bring them to a halt through their indecision, lack of principle, and political shortsightedness. They have already been punished for it. They are E. Aliverdiyev, general director of the Baku electrical engineering plant; A. Mustafayev, director of the Ministry of Trade transport depot; D. Mamedov, chief engineer at the Baku "Prommontazh" administration; Ye. Silyayev, chief of the Shaumyanovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department; A. Karayev, chief engineer at the "Elektroshtamp" plant; O. Khalilov, party committee secretary at the same enterprise; and other leaders, who have been given severe party penalties. Party action has been taken against a total of 159 Communists, 102 of whom have leader status of some kind. A total of 13 have been expelled from the party, including Z. Abbasov, engineering workshop chief at the Lenin textile combine, and R. Gasanov, engineer at the Baku engineering repair plant named for the 26 Baku commissars, who committed acts unworthy of Communuists and fueled interethnic strife. Some 636 people, including 123 leaders, have been given disciplinary punishment. Some 120 have been dismissed and 12 relieved of leading posts.

Resolutely supporting these measures, all honest working people in the republic firmly state that the time has come to establish order and severely punish those who are trying to hinder restructuring. The enterprise workers one has talked with of late are urging that every effort be made to help people who have left their birthplaces in Armenia and in Azerbaijan and to get them home as soon as possible.

Cases of Looting in Quake Zone

PM1912154988 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 51, 17-23 Dec 88 (Signed to Press 15 Dec 88) p 5

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR MVD Press Bureau"]

[Text] In the Armenian SSR important national economic facilities are under guard. The necessary measures are being taken to ensure public order, to stop panicky rumors, and to prevent instances of looting.

The specially set up groups of militia workers which are entrusted with the sad but necessary mission of identifying the bodies recovered from the debris of the buildings and passing on the remains to their relatives are working intensively.

Unfortunately, the following lamentable examples can also be cited. On 8 December at 1500 hours in Leninakan A.G. Abramyan, born 1964, A.G. Avitesyan, born 1963, and S.R. Navasardyan, born 1962, were detained as they were coming out of a store by militia workers and a troop detail. They had stolen 40 kg of butter and R200 from the store.

On 10 December at 0230 G.N. Adzhamyan, born 1965, who has been previously convicted, was detained by militia workers and a detail of servicemen in an attempt to steal money from the Spitakskiy Rayon branch of Gosbank. An investigation is under way.

In Kirovakan on 12 December at 1730 A.V. Babayan, born 1962 and unemployed, who had removed and stolen a gold watch, earrings, a pendant and a bag of medicines from people who had died during the earthquake, was detained by Vardanyan and Tumanyan, militiamen in the patrol and sentry service.

The situation in Azerbaijan is gradually returning to normal. Enterprises are back at work. There have been no meetings, demonstrations or marches. No clashes stemming from interethnic relations have been recorded.

On 11 December at 1230 M.K. Salmanov, born 1932, who works as director of a cultural enlightenment school in Baku, driving a "Volga" under a permit issued 10 December, was detained at a State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate post at the entrance to Kirovabad in the Azerbaijan SSR. When the car was examined R150,000, R3,000 in 3-percent loan bonds, expensive Japanese radio equipment, a a pornographic videocassette, 14 pairs of imported shoes, 69 bottles of cognac, and headed notepaper from the Agdam Musical School were found and confiscated. When he was being taken to the commandant's office Salmanov offered a reward to Soviet Army Captain V.N. Obozenko if he would tell the commandant that a smaller sum of money had been found.

As is well known, there are two [penal] colonies in the disaster area in Armenia (general-regime and strict-regime) and two isolation units for people held pending investigations (in Kirovakan and Leninakan).

The disaster did not seriously damage the guarded facilities. None of the prisoners died. There were no escapes.

In accordance with existing legislation, since 10 December 212 prisoners have been given 10 days' leave to visit families, help them, and participate in funerals of relatives and friends. Leave was granted to prisoners held under both general and strict regimes. By the evening of 14 December 116 people had returned early to the colony. No instances of looting on the part of prisoners on leave were noted. But the following came to light.

Convict L.P. Martirosyan was given leave and left for Leninakan to look for his son. While he was looking through the debris he found an enterprise cash register containing R38,000. He passed the whole sum to representatives of the authorities.

Activists, 'Bribetakers' Arrested

PM2012105988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "From USSR Foreign Ministry Press Bureau Reports"]

[Text] Kirovabad (Azerbaijan SSR)—Work is being conducted here with regard to the activity of I. Muradyan, senior scientific staffer of the Armenian SSR Gospian Institute of Economics and Planning and one of the leaders of the movement which has arisen around the disbanded "Karabakh" committee, who was arrested earlier, and its activists—B. Sisyan and G. Gulgazaryan, senior lecturers at the Abovyan Armenian Teacher Training Institute.

During October-December of this year (the last time 2 December) these said persons made repeated flights, in a helicopter making trips to evacuate Armenian migrants from Azerbaijan, from the territory of the Armenian SSR to a village with an Armenian population in the Azerbaijan SSR's Khanlarskiy Rayon, where they conducted agitprop work among the inhabitants aimed at kindling national hostility. Addressing an unsanctioned rally which they had provoked, some of them imparted false information to citizens and urged the population to put provocative demands to the local authorities.

Agricultural work was disrupted in a number of places as a result of the provocative activity. On 14 December this year USSR MVD central apparatus personnel arrested L.G. Mirzoyan, born in 1958, who until September of this year worked as a lecturer at Tashkent Teacher Training Institute, for active membership of the "Karabakh" committee. Mirzoyan is a close aide of Muradyan. On Muradyan's instructions he went to Kirovabad in the Azerbaijan SSR 29 November 1988, organized the collection of various information, and made tendentious use of it in preparing slanderous letters to the authorities.

While in Kirovabad he addressed unsanctioned rallies in the "Armenian" section of the city four times, preaching ideas of interethnic irreconcilability and receiving instructions from Muradyan on the forms and methods of work among the Armenian population. Material evidence has been taken from Mirzoyan. The facts of the criminal activity of Muradyan, Sisyan, Gulgazaryan, and Mirzoyan have been confirmed by witnesses' testimonies. Materials relating to the said persons have been forwarded to the investigative operations group of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR MVD to decide the question of instituting criminal proceedings against them under Article 67 of the Azerbaijan SSR Criminal Code (violation of national and racial equality of rights).

Baku—An operational group of the USSR MVD Main Administration for the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation together with the republic MVD Administration for the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation has exposed a criminal group of bribetakers long active in the system of the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Motor Transport. It has been established that the arrested persons collected money for the organizers of unsanctioned rallies, failed to put motor transport on line, exerted pressure on drivers who wished to work, and forced the dismissal of Armenians, Jews, and Russians. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in this regard.

The said persons have been charged with taking bribes totaling approximately R100,000. The following have been arrested: Ibragimov, chief of the intercity shipments motor transport enterprise; Aslanov, chief engineer; Aslanov, chief of the operating department; and Yusufov, Nabizade, and Ismailov, chiefs of motor transport columns.

Baku Commandant's Notices on City's Situation

Baku Peaceful 17 Dec

NC1912141788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of Baku City Special District, issued 18 December]

[Text] The commandant of the Baku City Special District announces that peace prevailed in the city yesterday. No special incident was recorded.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District

No New Incidents 19 Dec

NC1912184888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 19 December]

[Text] (?Peace continued to prevail in the city), and no incident was recorded last night.

The commissions set up within the framework of the district executive committees in Baku are working to help the citizens who have left their places of permanent residence in Armenia. A specific system has been set up in this work. With a view to resolving all matters, the citizens can directly appeal to the district executive committees and to the information center via Telephone No 928238.

Baku city residents are informed that the area commandants will receive the citizens as of 20 December. They will be received from 1700 to 1900 every day. Citizens may also call on the deputy commandant of the special district for political affairs from 1700 to 1900 on Monday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday.

[Signed] Colonal General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Aid, Reconstruction Efforts in Armenia Detailed

Woman Rescued After 10 Days

LD1912094988 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] The onset of bad weather in Armenia has sped up the evacuation of people from the quake-hit regions. Regular traffic has been restored on the railways that link the southern republic with the rest of the nation. [passage omitted]

In Leninakan and other towns there is still hope to rescue people as the rubble is being removed. A young woman has been saved after she stayed 10 days under debris without food or water. She was stressed by two concrete slabs and was believed dead when she was found, with her mouth and eyes clogged with cement dust. A doctor traced a hardly visible stir on her lips and did all he could to revive her. Hours later the woman could speak and before being taken aboard a helicopter she thanked her rescuers. [passage omitted]

Armenian 'Information Bulletin'

LD1912121288 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 19 TASS—A daily information bulletin in Russian and Armenian was brought out here today. The 12-page information bulletin with a circulation of 100,000 is published on a voluntary basis by the republican youth newspaper KOMSOMOLETS. The bulletin carries official documents and other materials connected with the elimination of consequences of the Armenian earthquake.

Under the headings "Quest" and "Hope" the information bulletin publishes names, short biographies, photos and addresses of people hoping to find their relatives. Those materials were preapred for publication by the Soviet Children's Fund named after V.I. Lenin and the Central Committee of the Armenian Komsomol.

Apart from the Armenian cities and villages, the bulletin will be delivered to those cities and areas where victims of the earthquake evacuated from the disaster area were accomodated.

A TASS correspondent has been told at the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party that the publication of newspapers had been resumed in all the Armenian cities and regions affected by the earthquake.

Briefing on Aid, Relief Snags

LD1912220488 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 19 TASS—The volume of such products as flour, meat, fish, butter and vegetable oil, cereals, macaroni and tea that accumulated for relief aid to the population of regionals Armenia's quake-stricken districts will meet the requirements for 15-20 days, Sergey Aleshin, USSR deputy minister of domestic trade, told a briefing here today.

As many as 2,800 railway cars loaded with food products and industrial goods were sent to Armenia since the day the earthquake struck. The loads include crockery, mobile kitchens, thermos flasks, trading and technological equipment. Hot meals are provided for the population of the quake-striken cities. Sergey Aleshin noted that al the union republics are supplying food to the Armenian people. They also dispatched cooks, buses turned into dining-rooms, a large number of pavilions for canteens, disposable tableware.

Vyacheslav Chernoivanov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Agri-Industrial Committee, told the briefing that with the problem of providing food for the rural population being resolved, the main effort is aimed now at providing temporary housing for people. This is why the main cargoes sent to rural areas these days are prefabricated houses and yurtas (domed tents consisting of felt stretched over a collapsible lattice framwork of wood). Vyacheslav Chernoivanov said that according to preliminary estimate, three billion roubles will be needed to restore all the facilities destroyed in the rural areas.

Individuals, firms, organizations, governments the world over donate funds in foreign currency to account 7000412 opened at Vneshekonombank (USSR Bank of Foreign Economic Affairs), said Valeriy Lyulchev, deputy chairman of the Board of USSR Vneshekonombank. Relief aid mainly comes in the supply of medicines, food products, medical equipment.

As to sums of money contributed to the account from abroad they now make up 1.5 million roubles in freely convertible currency. This sum does not reflect the real extent of foreign aid provided by various countries, Valeriy Lyulchev said. Part of the funds comes via national Red Cross societies. It takes one or two weeks to encash in banks the cheques referred to the Soviet embassies. Therefore the contributions of funds to account 7000412 continue growing, he said.

Village Restoration Work Begins

LD1912154988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] The restoration has begun on Armenia's villages—Torosgyukh, (Arpeni), (Gognovit) and (Sokhamark) in Gukasyanskiy Rayon. Building and installation teams comprising 135 people have begun restoration work. There will soon be more than 500 builders, architects, machine operators, fitters, and other specialists working here from Yakutiya, Magadan, and Uzbekistan. The collectives of the main administration of precious metals and diamonds of the USSR Council of Ministers have promised to restore and build within a short time approximately 300 houses, schools, byres, and other facilities essential to the normal life and activities of the villages.

Restoration Work in Kirovakan

LD1912121588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Restoration work began today in Kirovakan. Of the affected apartment blocks that have been inspected by a special commission, 120 need to be restored and 59 need major repairs. As yet only local construction enterprises are taking part in carrying out these tasks. Having determined the areas for residential building in Kirovakan, Ukrainian builders traveled to their republic today. There they will put together a construction train, then they will return to Armenia.

Having set up their permanent base, they will be able to conduct the construction of residential housing in the town at a rapid pace. [passage omitted]

Municipal transportation has begun working in Leninakan. The first buses set out on their routes today. Of course, there are not enough vehicles yet, but the passenger transportation network will expand with every day thanks to the help coming in. Representatives of Moscow vehicle transportation have arrived in Armenia in ten Ikarus buses. The Moscow drivers will take part in the final phase of evacuating the population from the disaster region. After the work has been completed, the Muscovites will hand the buses over to their local colleagues.

The flow of money coming in to the republic to eliminate the after effects of the destructive earthquake increases with every day. An amount of R362 million already has been donated to account 700-412 at the Zhilsotsbank.

Baku Radio on Restoration Efforts

NC1912190388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Restoration work in the rayons of the Armenian SSR that were greatly damaged by the earthquake is continuing around the clock. A special center has been set up within the framework of the Yerevan gorkom to supervise the unloading of railway cars. This will help quicken the pace of unloading. Presently more than (?500) railway cars are being unloaded in 1 day.

The water supply pipeline in Stepanavan has been completely repaired. Compared with other areas, the Stopanavanskiy Rayon center suffered the least damage. Nevertheless, the damage caused by the underground tremors is significant. Cisterns had formerly been used to supply water to the residents of the rayon center. Now, however, the water supply pipeline is being used.

Danger signs have been hung on the walls of many buildings in Kirovakan, and the people hesitate to spend the night even in undamaged buildings. Tremors are continuing. Experts from Moscow and the Georgian and Armenian SSR's are determining the stability of the buildings and establishing how dangerous they are for accommodation within a short period of time.

The weather is gradually becoming colder. In view of this, the main work forces have been directed to repair communications systems and gas, heating, and water supply pipelines.

Relief aid to Armenia from various parts of the Soviet Union and from foreign countries is continuing.

Rail Unloading Commissar Appointed

LD1812235388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Armenia presented by political observer Aleksandr Tikhomirov from Armenia]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] In recent days, another serious problem has arisen here—on the railroads: the unloading of cars. The more important freight is being delayed. And thus, today, the decision was made, as Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov put it, to appoint an extraordinary commissar in this area. This is Viktor Ivanovich Manayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Committee of People's Control. Immediately, 30 minutes after the morning investigation, the first conference began. [video shows Manayev seated with three other officials talking].

[Begin recording] [Manayev] At each station we will have a representative of the Committee of People's Control who will be union, and...[Manayev changes thought] but at the base there will be republican ones. [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] At times, questions were asked in a harsh way at the conference, and this is understandable. The moment demands actions:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified conference participant] We need to ensure that at those stores and depots there should without fail be filling stations—natural gas, gasoline and diesel filling stations.

[Unidentified speaker] [Words indistinct]

[Manayev] Hold on, hold on, let's agree from the outset, to pose questions...

[Unidentified speaker interrupting] (?No, but we have to switch our points all the same)...

[Manayev, interrupting] Yes, Yes, Yes, 1 minute, 1 minute, 1 minute. You can ask questions, but you also have to solve them. You are responsible for the removal, you are responsible for the organization of the removal, and you are responsible for the food and everything. Who you reach agreement with is your business. Reach agreement so that people have no complaints about food, leisure, about everything necessary—but decide this yourselves. No one will make decisions for you. [end recording]

Railway Minister on Logistics

LD1912002988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Video opens with a shot of rail cars on a twisted railroad track]

[Ye. Nikonov, identified by caption] This shot was taken a week ago. Dozens of kilometers of railroads and bridges were destroyed by the earthquake. Traffic has since been restored. It is precisely by rail that the greater part of the freight has to be delivered into the stricken regions. In recent days, the Yerevan railroad department's capacity on the line has grown by 2.5 times. Equipment, construction materials, and other cargo is arriving, and at times there is not enough experience—and not infrequently the degree of organization—to process such a quantity of cars. Stations are not coping. There are incidences of trains standing idle. [Video shows trains running, shots of a switch yard, trucks and interview of N.S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways]

[Konarev] In order to cope with this matter, it is necessary to change the technology. It is necessary to completely change the work style. And so, a headquarters is now working at each place of work. Thus, in Leninakan, we have to get down to unloading up to 500 cars; here, in Yerevan, throughout the junction, up to 700 cars. In the Yerevan department there are about 5,000 cars. And yesterday only 1,350 cars were unloaded.

The government commission has set the task that it should unload not less than 2,000 cars, because...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Per 24 hours?

[Konarev] Per 24 hours. Because the loading, state aid, and all the aid from the whole country exceeds this rate by a great deal. So we have to reach a rate of 2,000 cars in order to reduce the rest. Because in 8 days, even in 9 days since the start of this tragedy, 27,000 cars have already been dispatched which are travelling with freight into the stricken region. Nine thousand have already arrived there and been unloaded, and a further 18,000 remain to arrive and be unloaded; and all this has to be done more quickly. That is why the headquarters has been formed, and it is tackling such a specific task.

[Correspondent] Will you be able today to reach 2,000 (?per 24 hours)?

[Konarev] No, it will not be possible today. I think that today it will be possible to reach somewhere around 1,500 cars.

However, now that we have set up the headquarters, we have mobilized an additional 305 spur tracks. We are opening up additional (?fronts) for unloading at field stations. In addition, we are consolidating work; we are switching many enterprises to working overnight, so that they work round the clock. For this reason, sometime after Tuesday, we shall probably reach this figure.

PRC Relief Materials Arrive

OW1612225488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 16 Dec 88

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Airplanes from various countries loaded with relief goods for the earthquake victims in Armenia have arrived at the Moscow Shevemetyevo International Airport. The first batch of relief materials from China arrived on 15 December. Our station reporter Arkhipov was at the airport together with representatives from the Chinese Embassy and the Soviet Red Cross Society to greet the plane. The relief materials are a gift from the Chinese Red Cross Society to the people of Armenia. No solemn words are needed for the occasion, and everything is obviously [words indistinct].

Kukolevskiy, a representative of the Soviet Red Cross Society, shook hands with the Chinese pilots and Ambassador Yu Hongliang. (?No words can express) our gratitude.

The reporter asked Ambassador Yu Hongliang to say a few words to our listeners. This is what he said:

[Begin Yu recording] The Chinese people express their profound sympathy to the victims of the recent earthquake in Armenia, and extend their condolences to the bereaved families. There exists a traditional friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples. We have always assisted each other in natural disasters. When China was struck by a natural disaster, the Soviet people also gave us relief goods. This is why when the quake hit Armenia the Chinese people extended their assistance. The first batch of relief materials consists of food and other supplies. The second batch of relief materials for Armenia will arrive by special plane on 17 December. [end recording]

All Soviet people wish to express their warm appreciation to the Chinese people and thank them for providing timely assistance at a difficult time. Thank you very much!

Tectonics Expert Interviewed on Earthquake

PM1912120188 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 51, 17-23 Dec 88 (Signed to Press 15 Dec 88) p 5

[Interview with Doctor of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences V. Trifonov, chief of the Laboratory of Neotectonics and Space-Based Geology of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Geology Institute, by own correspondent A. Loginov: "The Force of Earthquakes"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date, place not given]

[Text] Our correspondent A. Loginov talks with Doctor of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences V. Trifonov, chief of the Laboratory of Neotectonics and Space-Based

Geology of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Geology Institute, about a number of questions connected with the earthquake in northern Armenia.

[Loginov] Vladimir Georgiyevich, the earthquake in northern Armenia took us by surprise. Was it really impossible to predict the tragedy? Is there a system for forecasting such natural disasters?

[Trifonov] I can say with all responsibility that no one in the world today can accurately predict the time of an imminent earthquake. We can describe the zone, but can supply no information about the epicenter. True, in 1974 the Chinese did predict an earthquake and thereby saved hundreds of thousands of people by evacuating them from their homes. But 2 years later China experienced a very powerful earthquake in Tangshan that killed 600,000 people. And they had not been able to predict it. That is to say, we can make some kind of forecast in a particular case, but there is not in general a methodology for determining an imminent earthquake in the world.

So what we can predict accurately to date are active zones of potential earthquake centers (PEC zones, as we call them). We can name regions where a certain seismic activeness is apparent, that is to say, danger spots.

[Loginov] But are there any normative documents defining the PEC zones?

[Trifonov] Yes, there is a general seismic map divided into regions. But I want to say straightaway, however, that it is out of date, having been compiled 20 years ago. The region of the present earthquake is, for example, defined as force 7-8 [scale not specified]. The epicenter, in the city of Spitak, registered force 10 and in Leninakan it was force 9. The region of Gazli is evaluated on the chart as force 5-6, whereas two earthquakes there (in 1976 and 1984) actually registered more than force 9.

It is not that the compilers of the time did a bad job. No, they compiled the map in line with available knowledge. Our knowledge of tectonic processes has deepened nowadays. And we need a new map.

[Loginov] But why do we need to revise the map?

[Trifonov] For our practical work. Let us take the experience of Gazli. When the city was restored after the earthquake the regulations regarding earthquake-resistant structures were initially observed. But people then decided that an earthquake of such force was a one-off and that, if there was another tremor, it would be force 5-6, as indicated on the map. And they began to forget about the seismic qualities of construction. The second earthquake, in 1984, destroyed such buildings and reminded people once again of what should not be forgotten. And again the force of the tremor exceeded the figures given on the map.

The same is true of northern Armenia. They will soon clear the debris there and begin erecting housing, industrial buildings, and social, cultural, and consumer facilities. The previous construction workers' errors must not be repeated.

[Loginov] Some of our readers ask whether underground nuclear explosions could trigger an earthquake.

[Trifonov] I can as a specialist rule this out. Our nuclear test sites are very remote from PEC zones. And underground atomic tests do not affect the activeness of earthquake centers.

But as you have broached the nuclear problem and its link with earthquakes, allow me to express my position vis-a-vis the construction of AES's in seismic zones. No, the Yerevan AES did not suffer during the earthquake and is generating power. But if the center had been in the region of the AES and it had been put out of action? There would have been a new Chernobyl. In my view, the presence of AES's in zones of potential strong earthquakes and in their vicinity is inadvisable. And the Yerevan AES must be shut down in due course. And likewise the Crimean AES near Kerch must not be built. In antiquity the kingdom of Bosporus (occupying the territory of the Kerch peninsula) suffered a force-9 earthquake. Where is the guarantee that the same will not happen again?

[Loginov] Vladimir Georgiyevich, a final question. Will an earth tremor of the same force recur in northern Armenia in the near future?

[Trifonov] We do not know.... But after such a strong shock wave a process of equalization of pressure in the earth's core generally occurs. It is possible that there will be tremors in this zone but that their force will be less. And naturally those structures which withstood a powerful underground tremor will resist a weaker one. But, I repeat, this cannot be guaranteed.

Lessons From Tragedy 'Must Not Be Forgotten'

PM1912102188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Mikhail Krushinskiy under the rubric "Journalist's Notes": "In the Light of the Bonfires"]

[Text] The smoking bonfires on the ruins of the houses—it is as though the ruins themselves were smoking.... The sorrowful figures of people turning over the mountains of crushed stone with their bare hands... Someone shouts: "A ladder, a ladder!"—there are groans in the upper part of the ruins but it is impossible to get there without a ladder....

The first hours of the Armenian tragedy were terrible because of man's feeling of powerlessness in the face of the consequences of the disaster. Later, when powerful lifting cranes and mobile power stations had appeared, when specialists armed with the most delicate searching apparatus had flown in from almost all over the world and medical care had extended to the areas close and far removed from the regions of the disaster—that specter of the apocalypse vanished. But that was later. And behind that "later" were extinguished lives....

The years of glasnost have been for our society an almost continuous session of painful shock therapy. Chernobyl... Arzamas... Chernovtsy... In transport—the "Admiral Nakhimov," "Priamurye," and "Avrora..." In each case authoritative commissions are appointed, the reasons are investigated, and as a rule the culprits are found and punished (when there is someone to punish). Yet unfortunately the number of accidents is not diminishing.

But perhaps you cannot equate a natural disaster with "man-made" tragedies like the collision of ships at sea or an explosion at a railroad station? Surely they are different things? That is so, but...

I remember the middle of the seventies, the earthquake in Tajikistan, the destruction, the casualties. A painstaking colleague of mine who had gone there, to the zone of the disaster, discovered a striking thing. It turned out that the collapsed buildings did not have the planned safety margin because some of the cement and other construction materials had "gone missing." Alas, the article exposing this was not actually published in the newspaper at the time. Do the corrosion of conscience, the decline of responsibility, and the undermining of our "social immunity," that is the ability to learn from our own bitter mistakes, not date back to that time?

I want to think that this time it will be different. That every instance of shoddy construction in Armenia will be the subject of a painstaking, open investigation. But even that is not enough. The smoking bonfires of Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan have shed light on our unpreparedness for extraordinary, unusual situations. The head of the party and state had to travel to the zone of the disaster for the idea of "medical rapid deployment troops" to be born. The head of the Soviet Government had to stay personally for many days for many elementary questions to be resolved promptly, without waiting for special agreements.... How many points on the 12-point scale are needed to awaken our ability to think and make decisions for ourselves?

Time will pass, and the pain of irreparable loss will be dulled. New houses and districts, settlements and cities will arise at the site of those which collapsed. Life will of course have its way. But the lessons of the December tragedy must never be forgotten. Too high a price has been paid for them.

Amateur Radio Assists in Armenian Emergency

PM2012130188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by M. Degtyar: "Emergency Airwaves"]

[Text] The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA UKZKR [first letter Roman, remaining letters Cyrillic, as published] radio station began operation immediately after the earthquake in Armenia. Moscow radio hams Andrey Fedorov and Aleksandr Ivanov are on duty here round the clock.

"Our task," Andrey says, "is to coordinate the works of the staffs for rendering aid to victims in Armenia. All official channels are fully loaded so they cannot manage without radio hams today. In Armenia itself about 10 groups of radio hams, including some from Poland, the FRG, and Israel, are now operating. In addition we are receiving hundreds of offers of assistance from the United States, the FRG, Bulgaria, Sweden, and other countries. For instance, two highly qualified communications specialists from the international amateur radio emergency network are flying to Moscow today.

"We have the most unusual tasks—for instance, people cannot find out exactly where rescue workers from Greece are operating. We immediately join in the search. Or we receive a report from a private aircraft pilot from Beirut who is carrying medical supplies and radio apparatus to Armenia at his own initiative. Knowing only our radio station's frequency, the pilot asks for help in landing his aircraft at... 'Zvartnots' airport. Naturally, we linked him with the Yerevan airport air traffic control service and he landed safely.

"We want to thank all Soviet radio hams who are helping us in our work. The Armenia tragedy has caused pain in many hearts and here at the radio station you can understand this particularly clearly..."

Azerbaijan's Vezirov Meets Intellectuals, Experts

NC1612080888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, held a meeting at the Central Committee with the republic's cultural experts, scholars, and leading officials of scientific administrations, artist unions, and mass media organs. The meeting discussed the tasks the party has assigned to the intellectuals and the responsibility of the intellectuals toward the people.

(?Meze) Ibragimov, a popular writer in Azerbaijan; Dzhangir Kamilov, a department chief in the Social Sciences Academy affiliated with the CPSU Central Committee and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Bayram Bayramov, a popular writer in Azerbaijan; [name indistinct] Kuliyev, vice president of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences;

[two names and titles indistinct]; and Kasum Kasumzade, department chief of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Literature, addressed the convocation. Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov also addressed the meeting.

Comrades [name indistinct] and Sahip Alekperov, as well as El'mira Kafarova, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, attended the meeting.

Officials Elected at Sheki Party Conference

NC2012083888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] The main attention of the Sheki city party organization's 35th conference, which was held today, focused on the work to be carried out to upgrade the pace of the reconstruction process in the future and on ways to remove the obstacles preventing the broadening of democracy and openness. Azer Mustafa-Zade, first secretary of the Sheki gorkom, and others who addressed the convocation, discussed the tasks of the gorkom related to the further upgrading of economic indexes, the removal of backwardness in social development, and the abrogation of all that has been inherited from the era of stagnation. Particularly noted was the need to strengthen the party guidance that is given to administrative organs. Ziyad Samed-Zade, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Economic Department, addressed the conference. Viktor (?Krishkov), a responsible functionary of the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the work of the conference.

The Sheki gorkom held a plenum. Azer Mustafa-Zade was elected first secretary of the Sheki gorkom. (?Muruvet) Aliyev, who was formerly a department chief in the Azerbaijan Central Committee, was elected second secretary, and Halise Mamedova was elected secretary.

Lithuanian Republic Marks 70th Aniversary

Vilnius Celebrates Jubilee

PM1912142188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Republic's Jubilee"]

[Text] Vilnius, 16 Dec—Lithuania's working people are today celebrating a noteworthy jubilee: 70 years ago, on 16 December 1918, the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed by the manifesto of the Lithuanian provisional revolutionary government of workers and peasants in its ancient capital of Vilnius.

The celebrations began with a ceremonial laying of flowers at the V.I. Lenin Monument as well as at monuments to prominent figures of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the international communist movement V. Mitskyavichyus-Kapuskas and Z. Alekse-Angaretis. The memorial at the Antakalnskiy Cemetery in Vilnius was a mass of red carnations.

There was a ceremonial session of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. A report was delivered by A.K. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. He noted that the CPSU's course of restructuring and the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th All-Union CPSU Conference have generated political activeness among the broad strata of the republic's population and have become their life's cause. This striving by the present heirs of the Great October Revolution to struggle for social progress and justice was characteristic of many generations of Lithuanian revolutionaries. It was the Great October Socialist Revolution and the ideas of its leader, V.I. Lenin, which presented the Lithuanian people with real opportunities for social and national liberation.

Participants in the ceremonies included guests from Moscow and Leningrad, the Belorussian, Latvian, and Estonian Soviet Republics, and Kaliningrad Oblast in the RSFSR. There were also delegations from Hajdu-Bihar Megye in Hungary, Suwalki and Bialystok Voivodships in Poland, and Erfurt Bezirk in the GDR.

Brazauskas Writes on Anniversary

PM1912150188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[Article by A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee: "Heirs of October's Gains. On the 70th Anniversary of Socialist Revolution in Lithuania"] txt

[Text] Seven decades have elapsed since those memorable days. This may not be such a long time in comparison with the centuries that the Lithuanian people and their state have existed. But on 16 December 1918 a bright page was inscribed in the annals of the 20th century. That day the Lithuanian provisional revolutionary worker-peasant government proclaimed the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

V. Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas, one of the organizers of the Lithuanian Communist Party and subsequently a prominent figure in the international workers movement, quite justifiably described December 1918 as Lithuania's October. The recently created but militant and organized Lithuanian Communist Party led the people to this.

After the signing of the Brest Peace in spring 1918 war refugees began to return from Russia to Lithuania, which was still under the occupation of the Kaiser's Germany. They included many Bolsheviks and sympathizers, and talked about the worker-peasant state that had arisen in Russia. These tales, the hard yoke of occupation, and the economic dislocation stimulated revolutionary thought and galvanized the creation of party cells; the movement was given all manner of encouragement by the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Lithuanian Sections Central Bureau. The party organizers' main concern was to struggle for ideological purity in its ranks and dissociate itself from homegrown opportunists and Mensheviks.

The constituent Lithuanian Communist Party Congress took place 1-3 October 1918 under deep cover. The 34 delegates represented 59 party cells.

By late 1918, following the November revolution in Germany and Soviet Russia's denunciation of the Brest peace treaty, the occupation regime was increasingly clearly collapsing. The revolutionary mood of the masses manifested itself increasingly vividly. The Lithuanian provisional revolutionary worker-peasant government was set up in Vilnius on 18 December; V. Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas became its chairman. Soon Soviet power was proclaimed in Lithuania.

Over a period of 2 months, organs of revolutionary power were set up in Kaunas, Shyaulyay, Panevezhis, Mazheykyay, Telshyay, and other places.

The soviets swiftly rallied working people of all the nations living in Lithuania—Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, Jews, and Belorussians. V.I. Lenin kept an attentive eye on events in the republic. He signed a decree 22 December whose first paragraph read as follows: "The Russian Soviet Government acknowledges the independence of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic. The Russian Soviet Government recognizes the power of the Lithuanian soviets as the supreme power in Lithuania, and, pending a congress of the soviets, it recognizes the power of the Lithuanian provisional revolutionary worker government headed by Comrade Mitskyevich-Kapsukas as the supreme power."

Soviet Russia and the other Soviet republics offered Lithuania economic aid and in early 1919 the Red Army helped it liberate Vilnius, which had been suddenly seized by the Polish Whites.

Great work lay ahead. The war-ravaged economy had to be restored, the people's standard of living raised, adult illiteracy eliminated, and culture boosted. But history did not provide much time for this work. Soviet power in Vilnius only lasted 103 days. Military operations by German and Polish interventionists and pressure from the Lithuanian bourgeois army led to the collapse of Soviet power throughout Lithuania.

In addition to external reasons for the defeat of the revolution, there were internal ones. The leadership of the Lithuanian Communist Party, like many other young communist parties of the time, did not succeed in avoiding the "infantile disorder of leftism," which gave the bourgeoisie a number of advantageous trump cards. The importance of the worker-peasant alliance was belittled, and the land confiscated from the landowners was not distributed to the poor; state farms were set up instead. The nations' right to self-determination was disregarded, and the importance of national statehood was not realized.

By the end of 1919 a bourgeois republic had been established. Adhering strictly to the principle of the right of nations to self-determination, Soviet Russia signed a peace treaty with Lithuania 22 July 1920.

The Lithuanian Republic, governed by the bourgeoisie first by parliamentary means and from the late twenties by an authoritarian regime, lasted 20 years. Today, when we jettison existing dogmas in looking at history, we do not assess this period in black-and-white terms. There were definite economic successes and national culture, science, and good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union developed.

But political development was extremely complex. Hundreds of Communists and antifascists lost their best years in jails and concentration camps. Alas, many Lithuanian Communists who had stayed in the Soviet Union also perished. Six of the eight members of the provisional revolutionary government died as innocent victims of Stalin's butchers. Moreover, one of them, Z. Aleksa-Angaretis, a prominent figure in the international workers movement, died just a few weeks before the revival of Soviet power in Lithuania and the republic's entry into the USSR—in 1940.

The union republic's first years and the first steps in establishing a socialist society did not prove easy. Stalin's repressions befell the republic.

The Hitlerite hordes' invasion inflicted tremendous damage on Lithuania. And during the years of stagnation central ministries and departments took little account of the republic's sovereignty. Nevertheless, one cannot agree with the people who claim that we have created nothing good. There are achievements—tremendous achievements—in the economy and culture. It is another matter that a great deal was done to the detriment of quality and harmonious ties with nature and that the national aspects of the unique Soviet state were sometimes disregarded. Moreover, all this naturally led to a need for revolutionary restructuring.

However many years have elapsed and however many achievements there have been, Lithuania's party organization today regards itself as the spiritual heir of those 800 Communists whose representatives met 70 years ago for the constituent congress. There are now approximately 210,000 of us Lithuanian Communists, and we have a long and difficult road behind us.

We are not reassuring ourselves with the thought that everything ahead will be easy. The party organization will have to do a very great deal to regain the masses' complete trust.

The 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference gave a powerful boost to these qualitative changes. Everything the party is now doing is being closely watched by the broadest social forces.

Approximately 20,000 Vilnius residents saw off the conference delegates to Moscow and more than 100,000 gathered in Vingis Park in the capital to listen to their report upon their return. Our republic had never experienced anything like this. The emergent Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, "Sajudis," initiated these meetings. This movement helped us to realize that party actions and slogans must be vital, honest, resolute, and coordinated with the people.

People in Lithuania have begun to grow accustomed to glasnost. It has sometimes grated upon the ears, but that can't be helped. We all need to realize that at a time of democracy and glasnost even extreme statements by individuals cause much less harm than the "unanimous unity" of the times of stagnation, not to mention Stalin's time.

Uniting and consolidating the main social forces of renewal on a principled basis is the key question in deepening restructuring. Many people observing from afar the intensive political and social life in the republic think that there is no such consolidation, that there is division, and that the dreadful specter of nationalism and isolationism is rearing its head.

I will not hide the fact that there are strained relations in our public life between the republic's leadership and "Sajudis" and that there have been one or two instances of national disrespect. But there is no need to generalize these matters and go on about them to the whole country. The central press has recently published a great deal of material on the progress of restructuring in the Baltic republics. Much of this is marked by objectivity. But some central newspaper correspondents are borrowing the recent sorry experience of bourgeois press representatives: They have to find something "spicy." There is no need to raise questions about compensation for Russians leaving Lithuania since no one is about to "deport" them. There is no need to hint that you can't even get into the hospital without knowing the Lithuanian language. On behalf of the party organization and the republic's leadership, I state very responsibly that people in Lithuania will always respect the dignity and rights of all nations and deal a fitting rebuff to any manifestations of nationalism or chauvinism.

After a routine session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, which adopted decisions that met with equivocal response from certain population groups, the party Central Committee bureau adopted a resolution "On the Present Political Situation in Republic." It thoroughly analyzes events and notes the following: "It is difficult to overestimate the great significance of the development of national consciousness and self-expression. Lithuania's Communists sincerely welcome this revival of our people and see it as a mighty, positive force for restructuring." At the same time the resolution said that any discrepancy between words and deeds, unprincipled conduct by Communists, and deviations from the new party line and party discipline must not be treated with tolerance.

The recent report and election campaign in party organizations took place in this spirit. It was an indicator of an unprecedented upsurge in society's civic and political activeness and a good school of political work. It also brought many surprises for the people who, in the old way, considered themselves irreplaceable or who expected support from above. Fifty-one secretaries were replaced in the republic's 57 gorkoms and raykoms, including 10 first secretaries. Communists had their weighty say and many secretaries were elected from among several candidates, and I hope that the worthiest people were victorious.

The new winds in public life are also affecting the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee itself. At the suggestion of the Central Committee bureau, the Central Committee first and second secretaries were reelected. A few years ago we would have regarded this as a drop in the Central Committee's prestige. We now reckon that it is normal political life and a proper reaction by Communists to changes in life.

So 1988 is drawing to a close. Our republic is not so large—only 1.6 million people work in its economy. But they do not work in a slipshod manner.

The fulfillment of one of the main indicators of industry's work—contractual obligations—remains stable at the level of 99.9 percent in our republic. The volume of undelivered contracted output this year has halved in comparison with last year and there have been fewer enterprises that have not kept their word. The increase in output volume is attained solely through increased labor productivity. We are fulfilling the housing construction program, although not in the full amount planned for this year. The organization of work on consumer goods production is clearly in need of amendments. We are fulfilling and exceeding the plans but, alas, only in monetary terms and not in physical terms.

Meat and milk production is stably at a good level. We are endeavoring to ensure that the population's food supply becomes even better and its diet even more lavish and abundant.

The republic's working people are pinning great hopes on regional economic accountability. Lithuania's scientists have elaborated and publicly discussed the concept for it. Union bodies are now examining the draft. The central departments are not relinquishing their positions easily. Certain academicians have criticized it in the press without making any positive proposals. Will the experiment really die before it has begun to live?

"We will proceed hand in hand with all other countries traveling the path of socialist revolution," the provisional revolutionary government manifesto declared 70 years ago. Today we are also declaring a revolution—the revolution of restructuring. There is practically no one who doubts the need for this in Lithuania. We argue about different issues: the pace, means, methods, and tactics.

It is risky to jump the gun, spurring on social processes, and it is harmful to try to artificially retard a movement that is gathering speed. I think Lithuania's Communists and our Central Committee realize this full well. We must think over our steps and prove their timeliness through deeds.

Brazauskas on Lithuanian Party Goals

LD1612204888 Moscow Domestic Serive in Russian 1645 GMT 15 Dec 88

["Along the course of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference" program featuring Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The party conference was a party school for the whole people. The questions we discussed at it attracted the attention of the broadest public forces. This is not surprising. At the conference it was necessary to give replies to the most urgent questions of the present day. The main one of these was: By what paths are we to move forward? I said, and not just to make fine phrases, that this interested the broadest public forces. About 20,000 inhabitants of Vilnius saw the delegates off to Moscow. Over 100,000 inhabitants from all parts of Lithuania assembled in the capital's Vingis park to hear a report from the delegates on their return. Such a thing had never been seen before in our republic. These meetings were initiated by Sajudis, the newly arisen Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring. This is a public movement uniting the intelligentsia, creative workers, and all who cherish the aims of restructuring. This was not opposition to the party: It was an aid and support; it helped us to understand that deeds and slogans should be viable and honest. We have done this. The well-known slogan: The plans of the party are the plans of the people, we checked against real life, and now in Lithuania it reads like this: The plans of the people are the plans of the party."

We began to get used to glasnost. It was the main motive force and took over society from top to bottom. People heard the truth. Sometimes the truth hurt. But that cannot be helped. It is our own, homegrown, truth. All of this we must endure, ponder, and accept.

It was in this atmosphere that the latest report-back and election campaign took place and ended recently in the party organizations. It must be said that it took place in an atmosphere of unprecedented upsurge of civic political activity in society. We must admit that for us it was a good school of political work. It is most characteristic that the political assessment of all the problems being tackled by the party organizations was the main subject of the whole campaign.

Yes, it brought much that was unexpected. It was not any kind of change in the disposition of political forces in society. No. The report-backs and elections showed the extent of the real prestige of the various party leaders. In 57 town and rayon committees in the republic, 51 secretaries were changed, including 10 first secretaries. The Communists made their weighty contribution. Many secretaries were elected from among several candidates, and I hope the most worthy people have been elected. Our people are also placing their hopes in new leaders. Occasionally the conferences went on until late at night. But people did not disperse from the party committee premises or palaces of culture. They awaited the results of the elections. We have long since got out of the habit of that. But I am sure that we must now take this active interest as one of the facets of our political life.

The new winds of public life have not left the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee untouched. At the proposal of the Central Committee Bureau, reelections were held for the posts of the first and second secretaries of the Central Committee. A new Central Committee secretary was introduced to oversee questions of the economy and the social sphere. Even at that level the renewal of cadres reached, as we are accustomed to say, 60 percent. A few years ago we would have assessed this as a drop in the prestige of the Central Committee. Now we consider that this is a normal thing in political life and an appropriate reaction by Communists to the changes in the life around us. [passage omitted]

We have covered a long and difficult path. Communists were the organizers of the armed struggle to rebuff the fascists in the Great Patriotic War, in the restoration of destroyed towns and villages, factories and plants after the war. Yes, on our path there have been difficult years—bourgeois rule, the years of Stalinism, and groundless repressions. The party passed through all that. In the years of stagnation the party became estranged from the masses; its management functions hypertrophied. But restructuring has led to qualitative changes in this sphere, and the numbers of channels for feedback between the party and society are increasing.

The key question in the deepening of restructuring is the unification of the basic social forces of renewal on a foundation of principle. Many people who observe events in our republic from outside think we are not achieving consolidation, but rather that a split is occurring and that the specter of nationalism is emerging. This mistake is also common among visiting press representatives. I far from think that one should artificially smooth over contradictions, or that problems breaking out onto the surface should be driven down inside. This is a useless thing to do. The Communists of Lithuania and our Central Committee see—and I think that

Sajudis, which is popular in Lithuania also sees—that it is now equally harmful both to run ahead of progress, whip up social processing, and to try artificially to put the brake on movements which are gathering momentum. We think through all of our steps we prove this by our actions and their timeliness.

The Communist Party of Lithuania today has a clear policy, a policy of restructuring, a policy of renewal aimed at facilitating the progress of society to a new quality. The main thing now is to implement ideological and political potential and to put the energy of the masses to work. This we are doing.

*Brazauskas Assesses Supreme Soviet Session

WA18000252 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 20 Nov 88 p 1

["Text" of speech by A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, over Lithuanian television on 19 November]

[Text] Respected television viewers and all people of Lithuania! The session which concluded yesterday adopted many very good decisions. But in addition to this, contradictory assessments emerged, quite contradictory I would say. All of Lithuania saw that attempts were made to impose upon the deputies questions which were not called for by the session's program. But the deputies demonstrated political vigilance and unanimously voted for proposals based on reality and wisdom.

The people of Lithuania were expecting and hoping that the session would solve many issues critical and topical for all of our society. We did much. Just take yesterday. The republic already has a state Lithuanian language, its loved and respected tricolored state flag, and a bright anthem loved by all—the "National Song" of Vintsas Kudirka, our national anthem. We have a national emblem, which we legalized yesterday. It has been with the Lithuanian people in their history since the time of Algirdas and Vitautas. We were the first in the Baltic region to return the historical national symbols and give our native language the status of a state language.

I would like to say that much was also done before the session. We were the first in the country—of course, with the help of the Academy of Sciences, other scientists, and a subcommission created by the Supreme Soviet—to prepare a draft new Lithuanian Constitution.

We are concerned and will be concerned about the people who suffered during Stalinism, partially compensating them for moral and material losses. There are no longer any political prisoners in Lithuania—this, I would say, is a reassuring fact. We are restoring the Three Crosses monument. We have found a good form of dialogue with our highly respected Cardinal Vintsent Sladkyavichyus and have established good contacts. The Vilnius Cathedral and the Church of Saint Kazimir in Vilnius will soon open their doors wide to believers. We have proposed to the respected cardinal that he settle down and work in Vilnius in the old diocese building.

The idea of the republic's economic independence, I would say, is beginning to materialize. Whereas several months ago this was merely an idea, yesterday, after discussion of these questions in the USSR Council of Ministers, the outlines of this idea became more distinct, and it has begun to materialize. I am filled with optimism that much will be realized without delaying resolution of this matter for long.

We were disturbed and even irritated by the report on the information program "Vremya" which linked the decisions of our session with the events in Estonia and with the Estonian questions.

It must be said that we resent this and refute this. Each republic is guided by its own logic of resolving questions—both us and our good neighbors, the Estonians. In turn, I can say that we have adopted national and state symbols. The Estonians have not yet done this, but we do not believe that it is mandatory that they do this. These are their question, their problems, their opinion, and they will tackle these questions when they believe necessary.

However, there are also questions which we cannot resolve in this manner, as certain individuals want. The leadership of "Sajudis" came out with a resolution and proposed amendments to the current Lithuanian Constitution. What do these amendments signify? Practically, they signify a confrontation with the current USSR Constitution. On the other hand, this would legalize Lithuania's withdrawal from the USSR or failure to carry out the laws of the USSR. At the session, the deputies voted for another draft resolution—these amendments and proposals were not passed.

I would like for all residents of Lithuania to understand the steps we took, about which I have been talking here—our jurisdiction. With good intentions, we accomplished them in a very short period of time. Many of them have been resolved. But there are some issues which, considering the political situation that has developed, we are unable to resolve in the way some would like. This, in all likelihood, is natural, and this must be understood. I spoke about this at the session yesterday, noting that the path to sovereignty is extremely complex, extremely long, and all our actions must be very responsible. Premature, insufficiently considered decisions can only harm achieving our main goal and also damage our cadre policy. Today, we are nearly convinced, and I am convinced, that the Central Committee secretaries who come to work here will also be members of the Lithuanian Communist Party, people living in Lithuania.

We understand that not all the designs of "Sajudis" were fulfilled yesterday. Well, there is political competition. Obviously, one must know how to lose. We also lose sometime. But in this situation one must understand the course and development of events and the logic of political decisions. It is very important not to inflame the passions and not get into a confrontation. We do not understand the moral pressure on the deputies who adopted these good resolutions, pressure organized after the session ended. Everything did not look the best.

To be sure, this does not adorn those who inspired the actions. It is a pity that the young people behaved in such a manner yesterday in the square, in my opinion, without understanding everything properly. Now, attempts are being made to organize a similar action in order to convene a special session of the Supreme Soviet. It is understandable that such an action leads us up a blind alley and pushes us toward an even deeper confrontation, which no one in Lithuania needs. Therefore, I appeal to the deputies of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet and the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet to be consistent and be guided by political wisdom and, of course, concern for our territory. There is no other way. Every step must be based on logic and common sense. Lithuania is not an isolated island. We are a part of the USSR, we are a part of Europe and, finally, we are a part of the world. Our task is not clash, but to build a new life, to consolidate and rally for the common cause.

I appeal to all the people of Lithuania, to every family, to the young people, to the clergy, to the veterans, and beg them not to succumb to the passions being inflamed by individual people and to understand the decisions we made. Let us not destroy, but build. In the past we destroyed so much, despised all and everything, and called for vengeance. You will agree, we do not need this today. If we do not heed the voice of reason, it is hard to predict the path to the future. After all, we all are striving for stability and tranquillity; we want to raise grain and build homes, make families, and raise children. We all are striving to create a just and unified Lithuania.

I again appeal to all residents of Lithuania and declare that the government of Lithuania and I personally have never taken a single step, made a single decision, or even thought of doing so against our people, against our nation. We and the entire government as well will never do so.

Thank you, my dear friends!

Lithuanian Olympic Committee Established

LD1412125688 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Summary] The Lithuanian Olympic Committee was established yesterday. Vilnius correspondent Guoda Litvaitiene reports that the original intention was to establish a Lithuanian Olympic League because when the issue of establishing a Latvian Olympic Committee was discussed at the USSR National Olympic Committee plenum, it was stated categorically that such Olympic committees could not be set up in the union republics. Therefore, after much debate it was decided to establish an Olympic League in Lithuania.

More than 400 delegates from all over Lithuania took part in the Olympic conference, which was opened by Viktoras Stazaitis, a participant in the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam.

Arturas Poviliunas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, pointed out that the conference never would have come about were it not for the efforts of hundreds of people who demanded that the conference take place in spite of the veto on national Olympic committees issued by the central organs. He said that Lithuanians had waited for this conference for nearly 50 years, since the time the Lithuanian flag was torn down and the Lithuanian National Olympic Committee disbanded.

With the very first speeches, the indication was that Lithuanian athletes were prepared to re-establish the Lithuanian National Olympic Committee, instead of the Lithuanian Olympic League, as was planned originally.

When Arvydas Juozaitis, an Olympic medalist, quite spontaneously proposed the establishment of the Lithuanian National Olympic Committee, all the delegates voted in favor of his proposal. Following the vote, the Lithuanian state flag and the flag of the 1938 Lithuanian National Olympic Team were brought in.

Kazimieras Motieka, a lawyer and member of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, Sajudis, said that after careful study of the Olympic Charter (which until recently was not available in Lithuania), he had found that the Lithuanian SSR can meet its requirements for participation in the Olympic games. According to the charter's definition of a republic, this status is guaranteed by the Lithuanian Constitution. In conclusion, he said that the establishment of the Lithuanian National Olympic Committee was a step toward sovereignty and self-dependence for Lithuania.

Estonian Meeting Views Youth Military Training

LD1612110788 Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 24 Nov 88 pp 1, 4

[Report delivered by Professor Vayno Rajangu, chairman of the Estonian SSR Education Committee, at the Estonian Conference on Education in Tallinn]

[Excerpts] Esteemed participants in the conference of educators and public at large. [passage omitted]

It sounds incredible, but some school leaders have approached the education committee with a proposal to reduce the independence of schools. And another observation: We keep receiving letters and applications regarding matters that long since have been decided by the local organs or schools themselves. This is not meant as a reproach but as proof of how hard it is to overcome old habits and how hard it is for us all to learn democracy. [passage omitted]

For a long time the most rigid subject and the one most difficult to change has been basic military training. On this topic many tensions have emerged in educational establishments. For that reason they often do not fulfill the tasks set for them both in training youth for military service and in raising patriots. For this reason, we began reorganization by excusing girls from a section of lessons in basic military training. By now we have presented our proposals to higher authorities concerning the reorganization of basic military training for young men. Instead of studies that until now have taken place behind school desks, we suggest practical training under military service conditions based on military subdivision. That would mean spending an equal amount of individual lesson time at the end of the study year in camps. The experience last year in Tallinn, Mere, October, and Lenin, Harju, Viljandi, Rakvere, and Vor Rayons affirms that the understanding attitude of military units toward such training means it could be implemented successfully. [passage omitted]

Latvian Forum on Nationalities Assessed

LD2012054388 Moscow TASS in English 0517 GMT 20 Dec 88

["Latvia: First Step Towards True Internationalism"—TASS headline]

[Text] Riga December 20—By LATINFORM correspondent Valdis Sirmgalvis:

The results of a forum of people of various nationalities now living in the Soviet Republic of Latvia that was held on December 10-11 have been heatedly discussed here for over a week. Most people hoped that the forum would lessen inter-ethnic tension, and to some extent this goal was achieved. Contradictory opinions continue to be expressed on this or that report made at the forum, but all agree with Anatoliy Gorbunov, head of the Presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet (parliament), who said: "We have taken a path leading to the greater unity of the Latvian population, but we have so far only made the first step".

After two days of the forum's work, Gorbunov, 46, confidently smiled before TV cameras, although he was exhausted: He chaired the most important sittings and was worried lest the discussion should take a less positive direction.

"Now I am optimistic about the future. Delegates of the forum managed to move from monologues to a discussion", he said.

Many Russian intellectuals share the Latvian leader's opinion. Aleksandr Sakhov, 37, a prominent architect, explained this transition by the previous formation of numerous national cultural societies. He maintains that "national diversity, along with the preservation of the identity of each nationality, does not estrange people. On the contrary, it unites them".

Vladlen Ddozortsev, 48, a popular playwright and member of the board of Latvia's Popular Front, praised the role of national cultural societies. However, he believes that apart from a moral effect, the forum did not have any constructive and practical results. Anatoliy Umbras, 60, one of the leaders of the ecological movement, is of the same opinion because, he maintains, most of the forum's documents are of a declaratory and not of practical nature.

However, many people believe that the forum was a success from a political point of view because the final statements reflect the will of various nationalities inhabiting Latvia. It was organised by the Communist Party, the Komsomol, Latvia's Popular Front, the Baltic-Slavonic Society and other organisations. Delegates of 23 nationalities exchanged views on the most pressing problems. They stated: "We are unanimous in our opinion that Latvia should develop as part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and as a sovereign republic..."

The forum unanimously favoured recognising Lettish as the republic's official language. However, it was pointed out that this should not be used for driving the Russian language out or for discrimination against those who do not know the republic's official language.

Delegates found it necessary to express their opinion on a proposed law on republican citizenship. They stated that all Soviet citizens permanently living in Latvia on the day the law is enacted should be recognised as citizens of Latvia.

The forum, whose theme was "Latvia is our common home", adopted resolutions on the republic's political and economic development, on the ecological situation and cultural development of national and ethnic groups.

"The forum demonstrated the desire of people of all nationalities to set our common home in order", said Lyudmila Marchenko, representative of the Ukrainian Community Slavutich of the Baltic-Slavonic Society. "This is the first step towards consolidation".

Latvian Party Aide Views Republic Scene

PM1912170588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Dec 88 p 1

[Interview with K.I. Nyuksha, member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, by own correspondent V. Proskura: "With Responsibility for the Future"; first four paragraphs are introduction; date, place not given]

[Text] Riga—"In every people's history there is a moment of glory. We Latvians are especially proud of the epic heroism of our Red Riflemen—the combat guards of October. Their most dramatic year was, perhaps, 1918. The German generals were lording it in Latvia. Soviet Russia and the force of international fraternity came to the aid of the Latvian proletarians. The traditions of that fraternity are sacred."

It was with these words that my conversation with Riga worker Konstantin Ivanovich Nyuksha began. The occasion was an important date that is being celebrated at the moment: the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Latvia. V.I. Lenin's signing, in December 1918, of the RSFSR Soviet of People's Commissars decree "On Recognition of the Independence of the Soviet Republic of Latvia" was an historic event. The very first program of the Soviet Government of Latvia, which set the task of forming national ranks of the working class, is remarkable for its sagacity.

The career of my interlocutor—the fitter, K. Nyuksha—is typical of the present generation of Latvian workers. The son of a poor peasant, he entered trade school at 14. He is now 50 and has worked for nearly 3 and ½ decades at the electrical machine-building plant.

K. Nyuksha is a USSR State Prize winner, holder of the Order of Labor Glory, chairman of the Riga Electrical Machine-Building Plant labor collective council, republic supreme soviet deputy, and member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

[Proskura] Konstantin Ivanovich, at the Riga city party conference one worried delegate talked about the activity of certain informal associations and social structures that have emerged. If their desire to tackle the tasks of restructuring kept in step with party policy, it would certainly aid the cause of renewal. Unfortunately, that does not happen often. Another delegate added: There have been attempts to push things in the direction of interethnic strife, parochial isolation, and a split in society.

[Nyuksha] The turbid wave of demagoguery has indeed appeared on the crest of pluralism of opinions, particularly around the sphere of interethnic relations. The demonstrators include misguided people and people who simply like the sound of their own voices and preening themselves on a platform. But there are also people who deliberately carry out provocations.

In short, we must look into it, without being too impulsive. But there are obvious things as well. For example, ethnic contradictions are most rarely encountered at industrial enterprises. Class solidarity, as a rule, has a sound international foundation, creating a direct route to the consolidation and ideological cohesion of labor collectives.

[Proskura] But people have said that too many people have come in from other regions.

[Nyuksha] Let us consider the facts. Industrial productiom in the republic has increased 58 times over since before the war. This is due not so much to improved labor productivity as to the construction of new enterprises and expansion of old ones. This required an influx of many thousands of workers and specialists. Agricultural production, however, has increased only 1.4 times.

The social, cultural, and consumer complex has not kept pace with industrialization either. Industrial growth itself has given rise to ecological problems. Some of my colleagues have adopted a balanced, sensible approach to them; others, however, are far too vociferous, looking for culprits. More often than not the culprits prove to be people who have come in from outside.

[Proskura] The cost of democracy?

[Nyuksha] I would say that the process of learning to think in the new way is a difficult one. Everyone is going through it at the moment—both members of the government and those youths who appear in gas masks at protest demonstrations.

[Proskura] But members of the government have a special responsibility.

[Nyuksha] You know how hard and consistently party, soviet, and economic bodies and Latvian deputies in the country's Supreme Soviet are trying, for example, to limit the at times excessive encroachment by some central departments on the republic's socioeconomic sovereignty. Migration is ceasing to be a factor, which aids the quest for internal reserves. More and more ecological problems are being resolved in conjunction with union ministries, with the aid of sensible national economic compromises. One could cite many examples, but it is a matter of principle, and this is that democacry means not only and not so much being able to criticize the top people without fear. Above all, it means being able to make decisions that take into account everyone's rights, duties and interests, the interests of restructuring. A concept of territorial economic accountability is being elaborated in Latvia. It is not economic separatism but a desire to get onto the right track and raise economic integration to a qualitatively new level.

[Proskura] But are the numerous public movements of various tendencies, which are forming spontaneously, a help or a hindrance in this work?

[Nyuksha] Truth is born of argument. I, for example, am not in the Popular Front or Interfront, although there are many party members and people's deputies in both. But neither I nor my comrades are aloof from the tumultuous debates and arguments. Unfortunately, as I said, the extreme opinions and actions of some "informal leaders" are manifested in the heated nature of the debates. But I regard it as a positive fact that the public movements are not allowing the local authorities to become bureaucratized.

Communists must be in the vanguard of restructuring, and all public movements must gear themselves to them, to the party organization's activities. This is not always the case at the moment, alas. But this is what we must strive for. It is we workers, Communists, who are primarily responsbile for the fate of restructuring.

Vorotnikov Chairs RSFSR Supreme Soviet

LD1912152988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] An RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session was held in Moscow today. It examined the results of the work of the 12th extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session. The decision adopted stresses that the republic's soviets of people's deputies should give priority attention to dealing with the practical tasks of the first stage of reform, above all the holding of elections of people's deputies of the USSR, and developing the democratism of the electoral process. There was also discussion on raising the role of the soviets of people's deputies of the city of Novgorod in dealing with tasks of social and cultural construction on the territory under their jurisdiction. Some other issues were discussed.

Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, chaired today's meeting.

CPSU Elections Held in Moscow Rayons

LD1012222688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] On 10 December, new members of CPSU raykoms and their auditing commissions were elected in many rayons in Moscow. Comrades Nikonov, Medvedev, Ligachev, and Chebrikov, Politburo members and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, were among the delegates elected to the 27th city conference of the party.

On the same day in Moscow, the conference of the oblast party organization ended. Comrade Mesyats was reelected first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Obkom at a plenum of the newly elected Moscow party obkom.

Problems Aired by Moscow Party Conference

PM1312112388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[Own correspondents S. Bogatko, Yu. Kazmin report on impressions of 9-10 December Moscow Oblast party conference: "Closer Relations With People, More Action"]

[Text]

With New Baggage

During the break between sessions we put a number of topical questions to the conference delegates in the lobby of the Hall of Columns in the House of Unions. Subsequent analysis of this snap poll, as it were, gave us the following picture. First, rayon and city party conferences have revealed that the voice of individual Communists can be heard much more distinctly. Frankly speaking, even in the past there were frequent appeals to heed the voice of the party masses, but more often than not those who issued such appeals listened to their own voices, and the "voice of the masses" was represented by speakers chosen in advance, whose speeches had been carefully edited. Today people who take the floor, as a rule, express their own opinions on a given problem or pass on the opinions of their party comrades without embellishment.

Glasnost and openness have done much to purify the moral atmosphere. This, in turn, makes it possible to unfetter people's initiative, enhance the prestige of the party organizations, stem certain negative trends, and, in the case of a whole series of issues, achieve appreciable improvements.

However, it would be premature to talk about a breakthrough. Restructuring is advancing with difficulty in the oblast and is marked by an acute struggle between the new and the old. And both the braking mechanism and latter-day distortions make themselves felt in the most unexpected ways sometimes. For instance, Yu. Shogin, first secretary of Zhukovskiy Gorkom, said, because of the absence of scientific sociological forecasts the best of intentions sometimes produce harmful side effects. So for instance, the introduction of economic accountability has resulted in the disappearance of cheap goods. It was hoped that the cooperative system would help to alleviate shortages, but the upshot was that state subsidies found their way to pockets of wheeler-dealers. Reckless haste in the struggle against drunkenness led to home distilling on a mass scale and to acute dissatisfaction among the population.

In reply to our question about the instructions which delegates have brought to the conference, we were told that the party obkom had sent the theses of the summary report to party committees. They were discussed with great interest in city and rayon organizations, with passions running high sometimes. Virtually all the critical observations and proposals from the local level were taken into consideration in the final version of the report or were at least given careful consideration. Naturally, new ideas and proposals emerged during the discussion which substantially affected the content of the conference' final document. But was the discussion sufficiently deep? Unfortunately, L. Pavlenko, cement mill machine operator and secretary of a shop party organization, noted, the obkom did not allow enough time for the discussion.

Nonetheless, the general opinion was that the Moscow CPSU Obkom summary report contained a balanced analysis of the party organization's activities during the period under review, gave an interpretation of the processes that are under way, and defined specific ways of resolving the tasks facing Moscow Oblast Communists in the next 2 years and the longer term.

So what did the 500,000-strong Moscow Oblast party organization bring to the report-and-election watershed. The 19th all-union party conference included among the priority tasks the restructuring of the party as the nucleus of the political system. On the eve of the report-and-election conference radical changes were introduced in the structure of the obkom apparatus. Nine sectoral departments were abolished, and the post of one obkom secretary was cut.

The report, delivered by obkom First Secretary V. Mesyats, noted that the organizational basis for work in the new fashion has been established in the main. A major switch toward political methods of leadership has been accomplished. Collective leadership is combined with enhanced personal responsibility on the part of obkom members, leaders of services, and secretaries of committees and primary party organizations.

Delegates described the experience of party leadership of the agro-industrial complex which has been accumulated in Ramenskiy Rayon as worthy of widespread dissemination. With the asssistance of the party gorkom, family and lease contracts are being persistently introduced in the rayon, and a council of agro-industrial complex primary organization secretaries has been set up.

Until recently the state of affairs in Serebryano-Prudskiy Rayon was causing concern among Moscow Oblast Communists. Thanks to the raykom's active involvement in the restructuring effort and success in mobilizing not just Communists but also many active working people, the situation here has begun to change sharply for the better. With the support of enterprising and hard-working people, new forms of labor organization are being introduced more boldly on farms. This has produced positive changes. The productivity of the dairy herd and grain and potato yields have increased, the farms' financial position is improving, and the appearance of villages and settlements is changing.

People at the Ozery party gorkom, on the other hand, have still not rid themselves of the old baggage, and certain gorkom members prefer to remain silent at plenums, it was noted at the conference. Criticism is not appreciated there. As in the past, work is confined to the adoption of all kind of resolutions of a purely economic nature. The gorkom lacks the determination to change its work style and to cast off stereotypes. Similar behavior can be encountered in the work of the Krasnogorskiy, Odintsovskiy, Pavlovo-Posadskiy, and other party raykoms and gorkoms.

Avoid Running Away From Problems

Passiveness is the worst type of behavior when tackling the party's current tasks. People who are hoping to sit out restructuring on the sidelines are wittingly condemning themselves to isolation and failure. This is probably why the work of 71 party group organizers, 33 shop bureaus, and 46 primary organizations was rated as unsatisfactory during the current report-and-election campaign.

Insufficient combativeness on the part of party cells has also had a negative impact on the strength of the oblast organization's ranks. This year for the first time membership has gone down. The conference delegates attributed this alarming news to the fact that admission to the party is no longer being pushed and that demands on new members have risen considerably. At the same time a reduction in the number of people wanting to join the party and a rise in the number of refusals to accept nomination for party work cannot fail to cause concern. Delegate A. Sokolov, head of the Ramenskoye city party organization, spoke about this. Over the last 3 years alone more than 1,600 people have been expelled from the party or withdrawn their applications for party membership. Many of them believe that party members who work alongside them do not set them a good example, that there is no party comradeship in relations among Communists. The Moscow Oblast party conference called for a resolute struggle to enhance the prestige of party members and to ensure the crystal-clear purity of the CPSU's ranks and the combat capability of each party link.

Can the way in which the Moscow CPSU Obkom resolution on the "Druzhba" poultry farm is being implemented serve to boost the party's influence, perhaps? The construction of this project in Naro-Fominskiy Rayon is in its 6th year. The party obkom bureau and secretariat have twice examined the question of the unsatisfactory progress of work on this project and instructed Communists I. Muravev, V. Peshkov, V. Zakharov, Yu. Savin, and other leaders to take steps to ensure the project's commissioning on schedule. However, the deadline was not met and no one was held responsible for it. The same applies to the implementation of the program to switch the oblast's industry to work in two or three shifts. Almost 2 years have passed since this program was adopted, but the shift index has barely changed. At the beginning of last year Moscow oblispolkom adopted a decision on additional measures to improve food supplies to the oblast population. Because of the poor standard of organizational work and inadequate supervision, food supplies to the inhabitants of a whole series of cities and rayons have hardly improved at all.

It is necessary to resolutely discard the obsolete practice under which party committees alone are censured. It is not the job of party committees to do the work of lazy economic managers, A. Volkov, first secretary of Serpukhov party gorkom, said at the conference. The success of good undertakings and projects is largedly determined by cadres and by their competence, responsibility, and organizational skills. This is what committees should focus their efforts on. Unfortunately, the Moscow Oblast party organization was unable to avoid serious miscalculations in the selection and placement of cadres during the period under review. Was this not the reason why 5 party gorkom and raykom secretaries, 9 gor- and rayispolkom deputy chairmen, and 27 economic managers who were either compromised or were unable to cope with the work assigned to them had to be removed from their posts.

M. Boykova, a milkmaid from Leninskiy Rayon, called for less paperwork, fewer meetings, and closer relations with people. Unfortunately we have still not learned how to choose truly gifted, inspired people, V. Bryukhovetskiy, a delegate from Orekhovo-Zuyevo, said. He was quite right: Work with the cadre reserve remains a weak link. Clear-cut criteria for the assessment of candidates for nomination have still not been elaborated, and not enough attention is being paid to the opinion of primary party organizations and labor collectives. The main point is, candidates noted, that a system of purposeful training and deployment of a reserve is lacking. Is this perhaps the explanation why all sovkhoz leaders were replaced during the past 5-year plan in Serpukhovskiy Rayon, for instance. And in the current 5-year plan half the farm directors have been removed from their posts (for the second time around).

Comrade Mesyats admitted self-critically: Personal responsibility for the serious omissions in the obkom bureau's party-organizational and cadre work must be borne by myself and V. Buzinov.

Bearing in Mind What Is Essential, Providing Leadership

The key question revolves around such issues as: What should Communists be like? What is the role of party organizations during the second stage of restructuring, when the time has come to pass on from theoretical discussions and quests to practical actions? The party's work will be assessed solely on the basis of improvements in people's lives, the quality of labor, the thriftiness of management in all spheres of the economy, and the moral standards of our society.

The restructuring, it was noted at the conference, has so far affected only the surface of the ideological sphere. The oblast committee and its ideological institutions, whose job is to provide leadership, are slow to instill a precise world-outlook stance in party members and introduce vigorous tactics to the struggle for communist ideals. This work needs to be done on a broader scale, especially among young people, and we must proceed with skill and initiative against those who, hiding behind loud slogans about restructuring, are trying to use democracy for their own selfish aims. It is no secret that elements of demagoguery have begun to emerge in party organizations. Sometimes groups form around the so-called leaders who, without having a clear political platform, merely for the sake of drawing attention to themselves and displaying their originality, enter into conflict with party organizations—which is particularly impermissible. By their cliquish behavior they are causing harm. Many CPSU members are aware of this, but they remain silent and offer no resistance.

Noting the generally positive changes in the development of the economic sphere, the delegates voiced justified misgivings in connection with the less-than-vigorous pace of retooling. The performance of some of the oblast's industrial giants such as the Kolomna diesel locomotive and machine tool building plants, the "Podolskshveymash," and "Elektrostalmash" enterprises is unsatisfactory. The disruptions in industry, transport, and other sectors of the economy are due not only to shortcomings in the work of party gorkoms and raykoms but also to serious omissions in the work of the obkom bureau and above all B. Balashov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom—this was an appraisal heard at the conference.

Serious criticism was leveled at the oblast's scientific aktiv, comprising thousands of doctors and candidates of science, for failing to tackle the region's problems in earnest. No basic scientific guidelines have been developed, for instance, for a switch to organic crop growing with a view to cutting back the use of chemicals; little is being done to introduce progressive production techniques; and developments which are in line with world standards are introduced in production too slowly. The USSR Academy of Sciences scientific centers located at Dubna, Troitsk, Pushchino, Shatura, and Chernogolovka are playing virtually no part in the solution of the oblast's tasks.

Delegates called for a mobilization of resources to expand housing construction and to improve its quality with a view to providing every family with an apartment or a house as soon as possible. The solution of this problem must be closely linked with the program for the development of the entire sociocultural sphere, and above all the health care and public education systems. Effective measures must be taken to provide the population with goods and services, improve their quality, and establish order in the trade and public catering network.

Task Number One remains the implementation of the food program. Radical changes in the countryside are closely tied up with the enhancement of soil fertility, the standard of land tenure, and the degree to which the peasants' alienation from the land can be overcome. At present there are more than 1,000 family leasing collectives in Moscow Oblast. The results achieved by all these collectives are high. Here, just as in the cooperative movement, it is possible sometimes to encounter distrust and prejudices on one side and greed and price speculation on the other. These distortions must be combated by the force of law, by a flexible pricing and taxation policy, and strict public supervision rather than administrative bans. And it is perfectly obvious that without good roads and storage facilities, without the automation of labor-intensive processes, and without the computerization of management the land will not feed us adequately—the losses due to low management standards are simply too great.

Summing up, it may be said that the oblast report-and-election conference has supplied the answers to the crucial questions worrying Moscow Oblast Communists and working people. The situation prevailing in political, organizational, and cadre work was self-critically analyzed. Effective ways of resolving problems in the effort to galvanize party links and to ensure the practical implementation of a radical political reform and social policy were defined.

On the final day of the conference a party obkom plenum was held. V.K. Mesyats was reelected first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom. At a plenum of Moscow Oblast party organization control and auditing commission M.G. Yazikov was elected its chairman.

Further Reportage on Moscow Election Campaign

Zaykov Meets Workers

LD1312213888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] The Moscow gorkom report-back election campaign is nearing its end. On the eve of the Proletarskiy Raykom conference, Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow Gorkom, visited the Raduga garment production association, the scientific and production association of the motor industry (?scientific research institute), and public facilities. During animated discussions with workers and inhabitants of the rayon, and during a raykom meeting with delegates to the coming conference, it was noted that the rayon's Communists are in the vanguard of renewal. The political nature of party leadership is strengthening, and ideological work is becoming closer to reality. There are significant improvements in the economy. An intense discussion on how to make the results of restructuring more perceptible will take place at the conference.

Zaykov, Ligachev Visit Rayon

PM1112190988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Achieve Real Results in Restructuring"]

[Text] The report and election campaign is under way in Moscow's party organizations; rayon CPSU conferences are being held. Communists are sharply analyzing the work of party committees and demandingly evaluating their collectives' participation in restructuring. The atmosphere of Communists' high activeness and their keen interest in improving matters are producing many bold and constructive suggestions and are conducive to the collective elaboration of ways to enhance the efficiency of party leadership and to more fully satisfy the working people's needs.

Comrades L.N. Zaykov and Ye.K. Ligachev had meetings and conversations with Communists, workers, specialists, leaders, and party organization secretaries from a number of enterprises in Kalininskiy Rayon, one of the capital's central rayons, 8 December.

The secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee visited the "Serp i Molot" metallurgical plant. The enterprise is completing its fundamental reconstruction, its fixed capital has been significantly renewed, and modern shops with highly productive equipment have been commissioned. This year the plant transferred to new conditions of economic management, and preparation is now under way there to switch to the more profound model of economic accountability. The enterprise' plans for the coming years are laid down in the plant's "Progress-95" program for socioeconomic development, which has been approved by the labor collective council. A businesslike meeting took place with the enterprise' party and economic aktiv.

The secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee were briefed on the development of the social sphere in Kalininskiy Rayon. L.N. Zaykov and Ye.K. Ligachev had a meeting at the party raykom with the rayon's party and economic aktiv and delegates to the forthcoming 27th CPSU Rayon Report and Election Conference. A.V. Rudakov, first secretary of the CPSU Raykom, spoke about the basic avenues of the activity of the rayon's Communists to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, to restructure the style and methods of party leadership, and to boost its political nature, and about the prospects for the rayon's transfer to economic accountability.

The rayon party organization is in the process of a quest, L.N. Zaykov emphasized in his speech. This quest must be expanded, and all advanced developments must be actively implemented. Specifically, it is necessary to more quickly separate the functions of party, soviet, and economic leadership, transfer more power to grassroots management organs, and more boldly introduce relations of economic accountability.

Addressing the meeting, Ye.K. Ligachev dwelt on the key problems of the present stage of restructuring, placing special emphasis on the earliest possible solution of questions on which the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference focused its attention—those of food supplies, housing, goods, and services.

The businesslike mood of the participants in the meeting convincingly demonstrated the interest of Communists and all working people in the rayon in achieving real results in restructuring. It was emphasized that only the development in every way of political and economic reform and of the processes of democratization and glasnost can guarantee the successful solution of the tasks facing the party and the country.

The great brotherhood of USSR peoples is alive and strengthening. Confirmation of this was offered by the statements repeatedly made during the day by Communists and working people in Kalininskiy Rayon about their feelings of deep sorrow at the misfortune that has befallen Armenia's people. Labor collectives expressed readiness to give practical international assistance to the population of the fraternal republic.

Zaykov Discusses Food Problems

LD1712235088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Report-back and election party conferences took place today in seven Moscow rayons. A conference of Proletarskiy Rayon Communists took place in the Zil Culture Palace. [passage omitted]

Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov addressed the conference participants.

[Begin Zaykov recording] I must say that an atmosphere of high precision and bold searching is characteristic of the capital's party organization and of the whole party. The spirit of the 19th all-union party conference shows everywhere. The essential dyamism is being imparted everywhere to the work of party organizations; their influence upon priority aspects of the capital's development is increasing. Passivity is being overcome. The main masses of the working people have joined in restructuring. Many remarks have been made regarding the style and activity of the Moscow Gorkom, the party rayon committees, and their apparatus regarding the development of the process of democratization in internal party life and the struggle against bureaucracy and pen pushing. All the proposals by delegates at your conference will, of course, be checked and appropriate measures taken. [end recording]

Comrade Zaykov dwelt in detail on key problems of the socioeconomic development of Moscow and on questions of raising the role of the soviets of people's deputies, as well as on measures to improve the provision of foodstuffs to Muscovities.

[Begin Zaykov recording] We face very serious tasks of the reconstruction of enterprises for the bakery, meat, and dairy industries, of vegetable stores, and of the reconstruction and technical re-equipping of existing capacities. And, comrades, it has been correctly said here that it is time for us to stop talking about shortcomings in commerce and public catering. The shameful phenomena with which this sphere is literally infected must be decisively eliminated—queues, overcharging, underweighing, boorishness, setting aside goods, and speculation in them. We have more than enough strength. Improvement of fruit and vegetable supplies occupies one of the central positions in the complex of measures to improve Muscovites' foodstuffs supply. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has considered the proposal of the city party committee on the creation of a unified system for supplying foodstuffs, including fruit and vegetables, to Moscow and Moscow Oblast as a unified region. Preparation of a government decision is now coming to an end which envisages that one master will deal with the production and storage of produce, as well as ensuring its quality as far as its sale and supply to the shops. Yes, comrades, we need a calm analysis of our own work, an evaluation of both errors and achievements, without exaggerating or belittling them. We need a comradely—a truly party—attitude toward each other, unity of word and deed in the resolution of the great and difficult tasks which we now face. [end recording] [video shows conference hall, Zaykov speaking from rostrum]

Baklanov, Belousov Visit Plants

PM1912143988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the Level of New Tasks"]

[Text] The report and election campaign is entering its closing stage in Moscow's party organizations. The capital's Frunzensiy Rayon, where major cultural, scientific, and industrial centers are concentrated, makes an important contribution to the city's economy and sociopolitical life. Active preparation for the rayon report and election party conference is now in progress. On 16 December O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited Frunzenskiy Rayon.

At the P.O. Sukhoy machine-building plant there was a detailed discussion with the leadership, designers, and workers on enhancing the role of the enterprise' collective and party organization in fulfilling the tasks of creating competitive new aircraft which correspond to modern scientific and technical achievements. It was noted that insufficient attention has been paid to organizing the production of consumer goods and expanding paid services to the population.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary closely studied the development of the social and consumer sphere, the organization of public catering, the improvement of housing conditions, and the organization of leisure.

In conversations with Communists, attention was drawn to the importance of the consistent fulfillment of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions, primarily in restructuring the style and methods of party work, intensifying its political thrust, and enhancing the role of the CPSU member. The enterprise workers expressed confidence in the correctness of the course pursued by the party and confirmed their active involvement in the progressive transformations being carried out in the country.

The disaster that has befallen Armenia was discussed with a sense of deep pain. The enterprise collective has made its contribution to the international aid to the Armenian people and expressed a readiness to do everything in its power to ease the fraternal republic's suffering.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; O.S. Belyakov, head of a CPSU Central Committee department; A.S. Systsov, minister of the aviation industry; and other party and economic leaders.

Biryukova Visits Enterprises

PM1912141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Visiting Labor Collectives"]

[Text] On 16 December A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited the "Moskva" furniture production association and the Moscow hosiery factory named for V.P. Nogin in Moscow's Kirovskiy Rayon.

During meetings with workers, specialists, and economic leaders there was a detailed discussion on ways to increase production, improve quality, and expand the range of the enterprises' output, demand for which is still not being adequately satisfied. It was stressed that supplying the market with consumer goods is a task of paramount economic and social significance whose solution demands the complete mobilization of all reserves.

During the conversations considerable attention was paid to the more skillful utilization of the potential of the new economic mechanism and the renewal of the material and technical base of production through the retooling of the enterprises.

A.P. Biryukova drew the attention of party and trade union organizations and enterprise leaders to the need to work more actively to resolve questions of social development, including labor, everyday life, and leisure, and the improvement of housing conditions.

Moscow Militia Headquarters Briefed on Crime

LD0712144788 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Dimidov:

The recent unexpected change in Moscow weather in recent days from 15 degrees below zero to three degrees above zero, centigrade, troubled Moscow's highway militia personnel. There were 83 motoring accidents on the roads of the capital, with one person killed and 89 injured during the past three days alone. This was announced at a briefing at the Moscow militia headquarters today.

Special anti-burglary squads have managed to substantially reduce the number of these crimes: 55 burglaries a week (it was more than 100 previously), with 26 of these cases solved within three hours.

There were four murders in Moscow during the past week. At first glance, this is not much for a city with a population of almost ten million, but, there had been no murders at all during the previous three months.

Juvenile delinquency remains a particularly disquieting problem to the Moscow militia: Deliquents committed 2,500 crimes over eleven months of this year. Officials from Moscow Interior-Ministry agencies maintain that their efforts alone are not enough to combat deliquency, and that it is essential to draw the attention of other social institutions to this problem. This is why, after a suggestion from Moscow militia the setting up of an adolescent rehabilitation centre in the capital is now under consideration. Such centres already exist in Sverdlovsk, a city in the Urals.

A stay in such a centre is not compulsory. A "difficult" adolescent may stay there only with parents' consent. He studies under the program of an ordinary school but at the same time is under the supervision of experienced psychologists and sociologists. When an adolescent returns to his local school, the teachers and parents receive expert recommendations about the traits of his character that should be taken into consideration, in what cases it is essential to show maximum care or to give greater independence. The opinion of militia personnel is that these measures are much more effective than the formal booking of a "difficult" adolescent at a militia precinct.

Orenburg Conference Discusses Food Problem

LD1912145788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[From "Yesterday: Events and Facts" column of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and TASS reports: "More Attention to the Economy"]

[Text] Orenburg—Changes in the life of the oblast's working people in recent years have been considerable. There has not, however, been a radical breakthrough in a number of sectors of the national economy. A particular source of just complaints is the provision of food supplies for the population.

This was discussed at the Orenburg Oblast party conference, which was held yesterday. The report by CPSU Obkom First Secretary A.N. Balandin and the speeches noted that poor use is being made of production potential and the opportunities offered by the new economic management mechanism. Thus, one of the country's main grain producing areas has remained in arrears in terms of grain procurements to the state.

At the same time the influence exerted on the situation by CPSU raykoms, gorkoms, and primary party organizations is weak. The conference participants discussed measures to eliminate the shortcomings.

G.G. Seregin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, participated in the conference work.

Ukrainian Central Committee Holds Plenum

AU1912104388 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 1

["Information Announcement on a Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee was held on 12 December.

With a moment's silence the plenum participants paid tribute to the memory of the victims of the natural disaster in the Armenian SSR.

The plenum examined "the progress made by the republic in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and the 5-year tasks to increase the effectiveness of capital construction." A report on this issue was delivered by V.Z. Borisovskiy, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman.

Participating in the discussion were A.N. Girenko, Crimean obkom first secretary; V.G. Kucherenko, Donetsk oblispolkom chairman; V.A. Kostenko, assemblers team leader at the Krivoy Rog "Stalkonstruktsia" trust; V.P. Mysnichenko, Kharkov obkom first secretary; A.V. Kasyanov, Voroshilovgrad oblispolkom chairman; N.N. Sergeyev, Kiev gorkom secretary; A.V. Merzlenko, Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee chairman; Z.M. Grishko, Zhdanov kolkhoz chairman in Berezovskiy Rayon, Odessa Oblast; V.A. Sologub, Ukrainian Trade Unions Council chairman; V.I, Cherep, chairman of the Ukrainian Agrarian Construction Committee; N.G. Omelchenko, Dnepropetrovsk gorkom first secretary; M.M. Kushnerenko, Kherson obkom first secretary; V.P. Salo, Ukrainian SSR minister of construction; P.I. Golub, steel smelter at the S. Ordzhonikidze "Azovstal" metallurgical combine in Zhdanov; A.I. Marchenko, assemblers team leader at Kharkov housing construction combine No 1 under the "Kharkovzhilstroy" combine; and N.M. Snigirev, Odessa obkom second secretary.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, delivered a speech at the plenum.

A decision was adopted on the issue discussed, and it will be published in the press.

Organizational issues were examined.

The plenum relieved A.A. Titarenko of the duties of Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary in connection with his retirement on pension.

V.A. Ivashko was elected Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary.

A.Ya. Vinnik, Donetsk obkom first secretary, was elected Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member.

The plenum relieved V.D. Kryuchkov of the duties of Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretary in connection with the abolition of this post.

The plenum confirmed the personal composition of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee commissions. The decision on this issue will be published in the press.

With this the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum ended its proceedings.

Kiev Daily Profiles Ukraine Politburo Member

AU1912104588 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed profile: "Anatoliy Yakovlevich Vinnik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo Member"]

[Text] Born in 1936, Anatoliy Yakovlevich Vinnik is a Russian, has been a CPSU member since 1962, has a higher education, and is a mining engineer-electrician.

He began his career in 1954 as an electric fitter. He has been employed as a mine foreman, mechanic, deputy sector chief, and mine power engineer in Donetsk Oblast, and was elected as oblast Komsomol committee first secretary. From 1969, he was Gorlovka gorkom second secretary; since 1974 chief of an obkom section; and from 1979 to 1987 Makeyevka gorkom first secretary. In 1987 he was elected to the position of Donetsk obkom second secretary.

Since June 1988 he has been Donetsk obkom first secretary.

He is a member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and a deputy to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Kiev Daily Profiles Party Member Ivashko

AU1912104888 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed profile: "Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Second Secretary"]

[Text] Born in 1932, Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko is a Ukrainian and has been a CPSU member since 1960. He has a higher education, graduated from the Kharkov Mining Institute in 1956, and is a candidate of economic sciences.

After graduating from the institute, he taught scientific work, spent 5 years working as chief of the science and educational institutions section, and 8 years as Kharkov Obkom secretary. In 1986 he was elected Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretary and Politburo candidate member.

From April 1987 he was Dnepropetrovsk Obkom first secretary.

In January 1988 Comrade V.A. Ivashko was elected Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member.

He is a CPSU Central Committee candidate member and a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Ukrainian Auditing Commission Elects Chairman

AU1912103488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission"]

[Text] On 12 December a session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission examined an organizational issue.

At his request, B.G. Malomuzh was relieved of the duties of Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission chairman for health reasons.

A.I. Kovinko, Poltava obkom second secretary, was elected as Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission chairman.

Ukrainian Ministry Meets on Chernovtsy Patients

AU0712194288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Dec 88 p 4

[T. Mayboroda report: "Chernovtsy Children in Kiev"]

[Excerpts] What progress has been made in the children's convalescence, are the conditions provided for mothers accompanying their hospitalized children comfortable enough, and are their requests and wishes always promptly complied with—these were the questions discussed at a session of the board of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health on 1 December.

The extraordinary session in the ministry was occasioned by the dissatisfaction the mothers expressed with the conditions provided in the Kiev Pediatric, Obstetrics, and Gynecology Scientific Research Institute for the treatment of the children most affected by thallium who are hospitalized there, as well by a documentary that was shot in the institute by a group of television reporters from Chernovtsy.

The reporters could—and, generally speaking, probably should—first of all have made a film about the treatment process which, by the way, is rather successful. But from the beginning the cameramen were either looking for something else, or changed their minds in the institute, having seen a number of negative things about the organization of the lives, feeding, and leisure of the sick children and their mothers. [passage omitted]

As a result of the impartial discussion at the session of the board of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health, a ministerial order was issued with a reprimand for Academician Ye.M. Lukyanova, director of the institute. Lukyanova was also instructed to provide, within 3 days, appropriate conditions for the mothers who stay in the institute with their sick children. The instruction was given to carry out explanatory work among the patients; to ensure that medical personnel strictly discharge their duties; to punish or even dismiss all those guilty of the disorders. V.P. Nedelko, deputy director of the institute for science, who was personally responsible for organizing the treatment and stay of the patients in the medical establishment, was dismissed from his job. G.I. Razumeyeva, chief of the main administration for medical and preventive assistance to children and mothers in the Ukrainian Ministry of Health, was strictly reprimanded for failure to ensure proper monitoring of the treatment and stay of the Chernovtsy patients in the institute. [passage omitted]

Turkmen SSR Accountant Sentenced to Death

NC1912095088 Tehran International Service in Turkish 1700 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] A kolkhoz accountant in the Turkmen SSR has been sentenced to death for embezzling millions of rubles. REUTER has quoted a report, which appeared in the latest edition of TURKMENSKAYA ISKARA, that

Radzhab (?Kordiyev), an accountant at one of the kolkhozes in the Turkmen SSR, and a group of accomplices, embezzled state funds over a 5-year period.

The report said that (?Kordiyev) embezzled more than R7 million, which equals $11.7 million, through forged documents from 1981 to 1986. (?Kordiyev) will be executed by firing squad according to the laws of the Turkmen SSR.

Leadership Members Attend Education Congress

LD2012090088 Moscow TASS in English 0749 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—An All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers opened in the Kremlin on Tuesday. About five thousand delegates to this forum—teachers, instructors, lecturers of higher schools, students, culture workers and scientists, representatives of party and government bodies—discuss overhauling the entire Soviet education system.

Many problems call for serious solutions, including those of upgrading pre-school education, humanising learning, and democratising school management. So, it is these problems that the delegates will consider.

There are 42 million schoolchildren, 130,000 schools, 2.7 million teachers, and about five million students now in the USSR.

The pre-congress discussion demonstrated that there is much interest in problems of Soviet pedagogical science and teacher training.

A keen discussion of all these problems preceded the congress. Piles of letters containing proposals for reforming Soviet schools came to the congress' organising committee, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, newspaper editorial boards, radio and television. All of them aim to help the education process to identify and develop pupils' abilities.

The congress' organising committee of course includes teachers and education organisers but also celebrated scientists, writers, artists and cosmonauts, which is evidence of the great public interest in education.

[Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0755 GMT on 20 December adds the following: "Delegates and guests greeted the following with applause: Comrades Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, and Balkanov. Comrade Medvedev delivered greetings from the CPSU Central Committee to the All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers."]

Central Committee Acquires Educational Papers

LD1612155688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has decided that the UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, which was an organ of the USSR State Committee for National Education and the central committee of the trade union of workers in education, higher education, and learned establishments, as of January 1989 will be transformed into a CPSU Central Comittee newspaper. The decision was made after taking into account the special significance of national education in current conditions, the fundamental changes taking place in all social spheres of life and work, and the urgent need to strengthen political leadership in the sphere of teaching and educating the growing generations. In addition to problems of general education, UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA will give broader coverage to questions of secondary professional education. Seleznev was appointed chief editor of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA. His first deputy is Matveyev.

As of the second quarter of next year, in accordance with a decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, a new weekly entitled NAUKA I VYSSHAYA SHKOLA will be published. It will be a publication of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee for National Education, and the central committee of the trade union of workers in education, higher education, and learned establishments. This newspaper is addressed to yet another large group of educators—teachers in higher education and scientific employees in the union, republic, and sectoral academies.

Both publications will be ciruclated via subscription and retail sales. Subscriptions for the NAUKA I VYSSHAYA SHKOLA weekly for 1989 are being offered until 31 December.

Ideology Secretaries Discuss Restructuring

LD1912210788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Dec (TASS)—A conference of secretaries of the union republic Communist Party Central Committees, kraykoms, and obkoms in charge of ideological establishments, and creative unions was held today at the CPSU Central Committee.

Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission, who spoke at the session, said that Soviet society has entered a complex and in the highest degree responsible stage in its development. This period is special in that its task is to go over from rallies and discussion to practical work on a large scale aimed at implementing the directives of the 10th all-union party conference and the program of restructuring.

The party's attention, he noted, is focussed primarily on developing the economy. Measures are being taken which would make it possible, in the shortest time, to improve the provision of food, consumer goods, and services and to speed up housing construction. The report-back and election campaign currently underway in the party is aimed at solving those key problems.

Reform of the political system and the development of social democracy have now been brought to the forefront. Here, Vadim Medvedev said, the ideological cadres are facing the task of helping all the working people to engage actively in the process of further democratization of all spheres of Soviet society's life on a socialist basis, teaching everyone to live and act within the conditions of democracy, and mastering the new political culture.

Vadim Medvedev noted further that the situation which has taken shape in the country, the course toward developing democracy and glasnost, the reorientation of party committees toward work using political methods of guidance are seriously enhancing the demands on ideological activity and cadres. Consolidation and cohesion of social forces around the ideas and tasks of restructuring acquire special importance today.

It is important to actively involve young people, students, the Komsomol, and trade union organizations and other public formations and associations in restructuring. Things must be arranged in such a way that people can walk into party committees with very bold, very interesting propositions, and there find support, objectivity in assessment, a lively and comradely interest, and genuine help. It is essential to study in depth and to predict the tricky processes taking place in life, and the increased activity of the public, including the work of the unofficial associations. It is important to take account of the main principle—their conformity with the aims of restructuring, the ideology of renewal, and socialist choice. From a political and juridical point of view, public activity which is conducted within the framework of the USSR Constitution and which does not run counter to the interests of socialism is worthy of recognition.

Vadim Medvedev dwelt on the problems on relations between the nationalities and shared the unease expressed at the conference by comrades who spoke about the situation arising in several places. These problems, he stressed, are among the party's immediate tasks and the key issues of restructuring. The deterioration in relations between nationalities in certain regions, the Central Committee secretary noted, cannot be regarded as a consequence of resturcturing. Democratization and glasnost have merely highlighted long-standing problems which had gradually accumulated over decades through a lack of attentiveness to them, and because, instead of being shown up and tackled, they were pushed further into the background. However, many party committees and ideological personnel even today fail to give an in-depth analysis of the processes and tendencies in this sphere of relations, and do not take timely steps to deal with matters that have arisen.

It was stressed that a slowing in the work to make relations between the nationalities more healthy and to improve internationalist education is intolerable, and that the most reliable policy on the nationalities issue is a principled policy.

The mass media play a great part in tackling the tasks of restructuring, noted Vadim Medvedev. Support for their work and a strengthening of the party's guidance of them remains our firm and consistent line. But guidance not by the old administrative methods, but through the Communists working within them and heading them, using methods that are in keeping with the nature of a state based on the rule of law and of our party. In this context the law on the press, the draft of which is in its final stage of completion, should play a large part.

FRG Paper on KGB Action Against 'Activists'

AU1812201088 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 17 Dec 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "KGB Is Taking Steps Against Civil Rights Activists"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 16 December—House searches, confiscations, and interrogations of civil rights activists took place in several USSR towns in recent days. According to the Frankfurt-based International Committee for Human Rights, which relies on information from members of its Leningrad branch, the KGB has conducted such actions in Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Saratov, and Sverdlovsk. The Soviet secret service was particularly active in Leningrad. The apartments of members and activists of the "Democratic Union" were searched there. Aleksandr Skobov, activist of the independent trade union organization "Smot," as well as Rostislav Yevdokimov and Yulliy Rybakov, members of the Leningrad branch of the International Committee for Human Rights, were affected by these measures. In interrogations that lasted for several hours, they were also threatened with legal proceedings according to Article 70 of the Penal Code of the RSFSR (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda). Leningrad State Prosecutor General Veryovkin and Aleksandr Fedorov, on behalf of the KGB, were responsible for these actions.

Supreme Court Session on Legal Reform Opens

LD2012063788 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 19 TASS—The legal reform should clearly outline the role of the court as the main instrument of enforcing law and order, stressed Sergey Gusev, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR. He addressed the regular plenary meeting of the USSR Supreme Court which opened today to discuss the questions of qualitative improvements in the work of the court in the conditions of legal reform.

Sergey Gusev said that in the first six months higher courts quashed or changed nearly 20,000 sentences in criminal cases and nearly as many sentences in civil cases. Over the same period supervisory authorities quashed or changed nearly 13,000 sentences and dismissed 659 criminal cases. "On the one hand," he said, "this means that we have been checking more thoroughly the legality of sentences, but on the other that some judges lack professionalism and show neglect of their duties."

Gusev stressed that courts should pay special attention to crimes connected with theft, bribe-taking and speculation. He also spoke about the activity of cooperatives. As of October 1, 47,738 cooperatives were registered in the USSR with their sales reaching more than two billion roubles. But the operating cooperatives are half this number. Cooperators still often face all kinds of bureaucratic impediments. To develop the cooperative movement and leasing the relevant legislative acts should be strictly enforced.

The first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court named strict control over the enforcement of labour legislation as one of the main tasks of courts. There are many cases when judges, afraid of the reputation of undemocratic, restore people who were fired for valid reasons in their jobs. They constitute nearly 50 per cent of all judges.

Gorbachev Excerpts Included in New Anthology

PM1612091288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Published by the Political Literature Publishing House"]

[Text] The book "Marx, Engels, Lenin, and the CPSU on Scientific and Technical Progress" has been published.

The anthology includes articles by K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin on scientific and technical progress, materials of CPSU congresses and Central Committee plenums and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on this question. The book also includes extracts from M.S. Gorbachev's book "Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and the World."

The publication is intended for party and economic workers and may be used for the political training and economic education system, as well as in VUZ's and technical schools.

The anthology is published by the Political Literature Publishing House.

Journalists Discuss Party Conference Decisions

PM1612162588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Press: Active Stance"]

[Text] The decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference aim to futher boost the role of the mass media in the restructuring process and the development of socialist democracy. That was the main theme of the plenum held 14 December by the boards of the USSR Union of Journalists and the Moscow Journalists Organization.

The report by V.G. Afanasyev, editor in chief of PRAVDA, and speeches by the plenum's participants stressed that press, television, and radio workers reacted with a sense of great responsibility to the conference' instructions to actively promote the country's socioeconomic and spiritual development, implement political reform, broaden glasnost, and convincingly propagandize positive experience.

N.I. Yefimov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department, took part in the work of the plenum.

Official Interviewed on Power Workers Day

LD1812125888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0901 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Interview with Vitaliy Nikolayevich Kondratenko, USSR deputy minister of power and electrification, by correspondent Mikhail Minkov on the occasion of Power Generation Workers Day—live]

[Excerpts] [Minkov] Vitaliy Nikolayevich, what have power generation workers to show on their professional holiday?

[Kondratenko] Today the fixed capacity of electric power stations has already approached 340 million kilowatts. Our electric power stations generate about 1.7 trillion kilowatt hours of electric power. This year 800,000-kilowatt power units have been commissioned at the Surgut and Bereza Gresses. The latest power units, each with a capacity of 1 million kilowatts, have come into operation at the Zaporozhye and Balakovo AES. New units have been commissioned at the Omsk, Komsomolsk, Alma-Ata, Astrakhan, and a number of other heat and power plants. The first two hydropower units have started operating at the Zagorsk pumped storage power station outside Moscow. Hydropower units have been put into operation at the Shulba, Kureyka, and Kolyma hydroelectric power stations. Great importance is being attached in the industry to the construction of the power supply network. We commissioned a new section of a super 1.15 million-volt AC power transmission line this year.

[Minkov] What difficulties have you encountered and how have you overcome them?

[Kondratenko] There are difficulties. The constant growth in the demand for electric power is outstripping the possibilities of our industry. This creates a certain unevenness. Our inadequate development of the industry's construction base also is having a serious effect. As yet we are expanding enterprises of the construction industry slowly. For example, a steam-gas complex with a capacity of 800 megawatts, which we are planning to build at the Karmanovo GRES is being set up slowly in the industry. I would like to take this opportunity to ask our contract machine builders for the power sector please to speed up the making of up-to-date, highly effective steam-gas and gas turbine installations, as well as maneuverable equipment for pumped storage stations and machinery for small hydroelectric power stations.

One has to mention in particular such an important problem in industries as a whole as environmental protection. As is known, thermal power stations consume approximately one third of the fuel—coal, fuel oil, and natural gas—used in the country, and have a harmful effect on nature and on the air around us. It is true that we have done some things in this time already. In recent years, 141 purification installations and 138 circulating water supply systems have been built. The construction of experimental industrial sulfur purifiers has just been completed at the Dorogobuzh and Gubkin heat and power plants. The volume of the use of cinder waste products has increased by 50 percent. Unfortunately machine builders are not yet ready to satisfy the industry's needs with regard to equipment for protecting the environment. We need to equip electric power stations with complete sets of machinery, dust collectors, devices for collecting nitric aid and sulfur compounds and with automated control and the regulation of emissions. We are conducting such work at the present time with machine builders and of course we should speed it up a great deal. [passage omitted]

[Minkov] Vitaliy Nikolayevich, may we move away for a minute from the topic of today's conversation and the work of power generation workers directly, and ask power generation workers, ask the question that many of our radio listeners are asking us here at the radio. Persistent rumors are circulating that the price of electricity will be going up.

[Kondratenko] I will answer this question briefly. No. No price increase for electricity consumption by the public is envisaged. It is a question rather of bringing into line as necessary the correlation of prices for fuel as well as the rates for electricity and heating in industry, agriculture, and other sectors.

[Minkov] Another question. How is the restoration of Armenia's destroyed power sector proceeding?

[Kondratenko] Today there are more than 6,000 of our industry's employees working on restoring Armenia's power installations. An additional 283 units of machinery and mechanisms have been sent there. The work of equipment at the Razdan GRES has been restored. Two boilers at the Kirovakan heat and power plant have been put into operation. Restoration work on the destroyed power transmission lines is going on day and night. [passage omitted]

Jewish Culture Society Established in Moscow

LD1912195588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] A Jewish Culture Society has recently been set up in Moscow. It has been organized and sponsored by the "Shalom" Jewish Theater in Moscow. Our correspondent asked Roman Spektor, deputy chairman of the society's public council, to talk about the new national association's program of activities:

[Begin Spektor recording] What do we intend to do? Well, like all new organizations we want to be involved in everything, all the conditions which could help to preserve and develop Jewish culture. We have already set up several very promising sections: the Hebrew study section, headed and coordinated by Yuriy Mikhaylovich Kosharovskiy, a man with perhaps more experience than anyone else in teaching Hebrew; we have a history section; we have set up a media liaison section; we also have a mass organization section, which is snowed under already, even before the society has become a legal entity.

But that has always been the case. One only has to organize an openly publicized Jewish program and people start bringing in letters, documents, books, recordings, old records, and their reminiscences. People turn up ready to share everything they have, but we are suffocating already, before we have even become a legal body. We have no premises, nor do we have any money to rent premises with. It is very interesting to note that the initial sessions of our board have been concerned exclusively with this problem—finding people to ensure that we have a basis for our activities. There have already been a few ideas on how to make use of existing professional forces to acquire some initial resources through a series of charity concerts. We have arranged such contracts. We are relying on the good experience gained by the theater management—this is our cradle, but we cannot remain in a cradle. We shall have to produce our own home, our cultural temple. Jewish culture will be seen as a normal component of internationalist contacts, irrespective of the plane in which it finds expression—the political, social, its own cultural, philanthropic, or even the consumer sphere. We have a great deal on our plate. [end recording]

Economic

Tsentroyuz Chief Interviewed on Cooperative Bank

PM1412150688 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Dec 88 p 2

[Interview with P.S. Fedirko, chairman of the Tsentrosoyuz, by TASS correspondent N. Zuyev for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "The Cooperative Bank Gives Loans"—date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] It has been decided to establish a Tsentrosoyuz

Cooperative Bank. TASS' correspondent asked P.S. Fedirko, chairman of the Tsentrosoyuz, to comment on this event:

[Fedirko] The Cooperative Bank is being set up to ensure the more effective utilization of the consumer cooperatives' own resources and long-term loans form the USSR Gosbank. Various Tsentrosoyuz organizations may be shareholders—from economically accountable consumer cooperative organizations and enterprises to republican, kray, and oblast potrebsoyuzes. It is being set up for the purposes of financing and providing long-term credit for capital construction, using long-term loans to supplement circulating capital, and carrying out operations involving shares (securities) and other payments.

[Zuyev] What are the main features of the Cooperative Bank's work in the initial stage of its activity?

[Fedirko] In the first stage of its work it will carry out operations only with Tsentrosoyuz organizations and enterprises. Subsequently it will do so with all interested cooperative organizations and potrebsoyuzes. In the initial stage of its work the Cooperative Bank will not be much involved with questions of short-term credits. This is because at present consumer cooperative organizations have no problem in obtaining such credits to finance economic activity on the established terms. Short-term credits for consumer cooperative organizations are provided through institutions of the USSR Agro-Industrial Bank.

[Zuyev] What resources of its own does the Cooperative Bank have?

[Fedirko] These resources will consist of the statutory [ustavnyy] and reserve funds, as well as the free resources of special funds formed out of the bank's profits. The statutory fund will be formed from the share contributions of members. The reserve fund will come from the bank's profit after payment of income tax. The Cooperative Bank's additional funds will be drawn from clients' current and short-term investments and long-term credits from the USSR Gosbank, which are at present received by consumer cooperative organizations through institutions of the USSR Agro-Industrial Bank. At the time of the bank's formation the statutory fund is deemed to be the total debt of the potrebsoyuzes to the Tsentrosoyuz on loans issued for financing capital investments and supplementing circulating capital. In order to form the Cooperative Bank's credit resources, we consider it necessary to ask the USSR Gosbank for long-term credit. The granting of long-term credits by the Cooperative Bank will take place on terms involving the levy of interest for the use of loans for capital investments.

Shmelev Interviewed on Debate Over Price Reform

PM1912150688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 50, 11 Dec 88 p 10

[Interview with Soviet economist Nikolay Shmelev by Viktor Loshak: "Careful, Prices"]

[Text] Prices have become a very important issue in terms of the social and political development of the country, according to Nikolay Shmelev, D.Sc. (Economics) and well-known author and journalist, interviewed by MN's Viktor Loshak.

[Loshak] It's apparent that prices and the principles employed in their formation have become outdated, and that the conversion to a market economy cannot be done without changing the existing pricing system. You yourself dubbed prices in this country a "distorting mirror of the economy", in one of your articles. The debate over prices, rather than subsiding, is getting more acute each week. The controversy has reached the point whereby a national daily recently accused "loquacious economists", who openly discuss the issue of prices and the shortage of goods of being the main instigators of people's present hoarding of detergents.

[Shmelev] The problem is centred around the practical aspect of the price reform. However, the impression is that no one clearly understands the reform, its objectives, or how to implement it. I mean that everyone from planners to ministerial officials and trained economists still don't know.

[Loshak] But what, in your opinion, do we need?

[Shmelev] In my opinion, the price reform intends to bring about two objectives in two stages.

The first objective and the first stage will be to level the main proportions in the wholesale, retail and purchasing prices. The second objective and the second stage will be to minimize the centralized interference in the processes of price formation and a gradual handing of the main price- forming functions over to the market which is a correlation between the effective demand and the offer. At present, this country's industry produces about 25 million different articles, which means that there should be 25 million prices. No one central organ can evidently calculate such a gigantic number of prices. There's no other realistic solution for the situation except the introduction of market price formation (with centralized control over the several dozen to several hundred top-important prices, extended over a sufficiently long period of time).

[Loshak] What you mention is, so to say, strategic objectives, whereas it is the priorities of the present day that are being currently discussed by the most different strata of society including workers, top officials of the

State Committee of the USSR for prices, servicemen and scientists. Academician Aganbegyan, for one, holds the solution of the issue to be all-important for the fate of perestroyka in general.

[Shmelev] My opinions are very close to his. But let's discuss our present situation. It is the establishment of real-life proportions in prices at home, in line with the main proportions in world prices, which determine the first objective and the first stage of the price reform, that is of prime concern with us now. Among the gravest flaws of the command-and-administer system we have been handed down are the arbitrarily deformed proportions for almost all main prices existing in the economy. As a result, we have unnaturally low prices for raw materials, fuels, some foods, transport, housing, and, most importantly, labour. At the same time, prices for machines, industrial equipment and the entire range of manufactured consumer goods are too high. Prices in the country can three times be higher or lower than world prices. At present, this represents the most formidable factor impeding the conversion of the economy to the way of intensive and well-balanced development.

[Loshak] The people who will suffer most will be less prosperous people—like students and pensioners, for whom meat is more important than luxury items.

[Shmelev] They will indeed, unless compensation is envisaged for them.

[Loshak] According to certain estimates, the Soviet state spends up to 90 billion roubles yearly in subsidies. In other words, these sums represent a pledge of inflation.

[Shmelev] The point is that the state subsidizing can be removed along with the turnover tax which is a source of budget revenue. As the result, people would gain from the abolition of their constant overpay for goods liable to turnover taxation, almost as much as they would lose from the elimination of the subsidization system. At present the turnover tax, forming part of the state revenue, almost equal each other in overall volume. Why do we need an actual removing of money from one pocket in order to put it into another? Both the aforementioned features are anti-economic freaks. We have to forego an unfortunate disadvantage we have been handed down if we want our economy to be normal. I have in mind the turnover tax imposed on manufactured goods only, leaving our alcoholic beverages and consumer imports. After the normalization of the state's alcohol sale and the consumer imports increase, these two legal sources of revenue would, in my opinion, be enough to make up for the losses caused by the prices reform, including the necessary compensation for pensioners and other low-income brackets.

I don't believe that, under the present conditions, it would immediately result in a thorough elimination of the foodstuffs shortage. Moreover, these measures are, perhaps, likely to increase shortages at the manufactured consumer goods market as well, if we think about the amount of the so-called "Delayed demand" and limited capacities of the home industry for the production of both the durables and non-durables. There is likely to be more people lining up to buy clothes, furniture, TVs and cars. However, the considerable increase of manufactured consumer goods imports—at first to be sold for unreduced prices—could well be a solution here.

[Loshak] But do you not take into consideration that the home industry is mainly oriented on the production of capital rather than consumer goods.

[Shmelev] Any mistakes will have to be paid for, including historical mistakes. We won't be able to dodge paying for our own mistakes. But paying for them could become yet another spur for the state to vastly redistribute its capital investments to benefit the consumer goods industries, to purchase several large plants for the production of household items, another one or two car factories, and so on. It is possible that the transition to normal price proportions in the country's economy will be tough enough for us. But if the new price reform is to be aimed at making the national economy saner and not the creation of a new mechanism for extorting more money from consumers, people would take an understanding attitude towards it, no doubt, especially given at least some hints of an improvement in the availability of consumer goods.

[Loshak] I believe you would agree if I say that the present-day consumer doubts the sincerity and the abilities of the Committee for Prices and has little belief in the assurances from the Committee's officials. There is a lot of examples of ministries and monopolistic producers calling the tune and ruling the roost as far as prices are concerned. In each of those examples, their decisions are not advertised and hit everyone's pocket.

[Shmelev] The 19th party conference once again confirmed the leadership's desire to conduct the retail price reform in such a way so that the consumers would not turn out to be the worse for it. Of vast importance was a promise that the entire sum recovered from the abolition of the subsidized prices system will be returned to the consumers in the form of increased wages, salaries and pensions.

However, the people would not perhaps be able to avoid a certain setback in their purchasing capacity at first, even if the promise is to be carried out to the full. As far as I know, the Planning Committee and the Committee for Prices still only discuss two aspects of the matter, namely, the price increase rate for staple foodstuffs and the corresponding compensation rate for the public. However, no mention has been made as to what would immediately follow in the wake of the price increase and the compensation payment.

I predict only another turn of the spiral immediately involving all other prices. The consumer would inevitably lose on the prices directly uninvolved in the supposed increase, even given the fullest possible compensation. Besides, the savings-bank deposits would immediately lose some of their real terms value, because no compensation is so far envisaged for them.

All that leads to the conclusion that the retail price reform in its presently proposed variant cannot but degrade people's living standards, something which might prove to be too much for perestroyka.

As I understand it, the Planning Committee and other central departments still are in favour of "redistribution"—which is very shortsighted. Their aim seems to be just confined to patching holes in the state budget.

[Loshak] In other words, you think that prices should necessarily be altered, but that alteration can be dangerous both socially and politically, don't you?

[Shmelev] I think that we simply cannot possibly "win the 'price campaign'" under the present conditions. No matter how carefully the retail price increase might be prepared and explained to the people, no matter how much compensation will be paid for the consumer, the ensuing situation would not satisfy the majority, which would be bound to negatively affect people's credit for the new course. "Perestroyka has proved to boil down merely to a price hike"—such an opinion, one can predict, will easily become typical and widespread after the retail price reform.

Not everything is so simple as far as the reform of wholesale and purchasing prices is concerned either. Here also the reform would prove to be effective only as a temporal measure unless the competition is introduced among the producers of capital goods. The vast experience we have gained testifies that an increase, for example, of purchasing prices for farm produce soon entails the increase of agricultural production costs, due to the growth of prices for machinery, building materials and fertilizers. The farm produce again turns out to yield low and eventually no profit at all, thus evoking yet another turn of the purchasing price spiral. Other industries, concerned with raw materials and energy sources, show the same cyclical pattern: a leap forward in the profitableness resulting from a hike of wholesale prices first, then a slow but steady digression of the profitableness due to a rise in production costs, followed again by the need for yet another price increase, and so on.

[Loshak] In my opinion, the most conspicuous "price game" involves purchases of agricultural produce. One can only marvel at the fact that the collective farms are made to sell their above-the-plan grain to the state, which returns it to them later in the form of mixed fodder.

[Shmelev] The present high cost of farm produce is largely due not to the poor performance of farms, but rather to the price aggression from the planning organs and industrial ministries which enjoy the monopoly for the sale of agricultural machinery, fertilizers and building materials. What were the ministries thinking of when they increased the prices for fertilizers 1.5-5 times over and the prices for harvesters (which are of very poor quality) three times over in this year? No one cares when the financial losses suffered by collective and state farms purchasing those articles are later written off their accounts to be cancelled. Handouts have nothing to do with the production process.

Here are the rots of the infinite spiralling of food prices. Unless we solve this problem, and stop the pumping over of money from the countryside by the use of the machinery of price formation, we will, in the long run, gain nothing through applying a usual purchasing price increase, and even less so through a purchasing price increase shifted off to the masses of consumers to carry its burden. There would be at least some excuse if the state could gain anything from that kind of pumping over of money. In fact it is no more than a hustle-bustle of senseless shifting of money from one place to another and back.

[Loshak] So, the present variant of the proposed reform is bad. What can be an outcome from the situation then? What are the alternatives?

[Shmelev] As I see it, an alternative variant must proceed from the following three presumptions: first, the price reform is necessary and unavoidable; second, it should be a stage-by-stage process protracted in time, rather than a single action, with the whole-sale prices reformed first and retail prices reformed last; third, the retail price reform could be implemented only if the consumer goods market starts to get saturated, and it should commence only after the first signs that the market has become replenished.

Even now the state can actually shed the bulk of its present food subsidies which are overburdening the state budget, without changing retail prices. The hike in food subsidies (from 20 billion roubles to over 60 billion during the period of 1982-87) was mainly caused by a single factor: purchasing price increases introduced specially for small farms operating at a loss. The absurdity of the situation is obvious: good workers are paid less than those who have no heart to do anything.

I believe that, at present, the state can stop supporting those farms by increasing the price of the farms' produce.

[Loshak] Let me ask you frankly: in the beginning of this interview you sounded like a proponent of the reform; have you had a change of heart? Are you for or against a price reform in the near future?

[Shmelev] A reform of wholesale prices is necessary and already in progress. As for the retail price reform, I don't believe that it must be rushed. It can only discredit perestroyka in people's eyes when carried out before the market is sufficiently saturated with foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods, before we partially at least have restored the budget balance and, lastly, before we have provided people with an opportunity to earn as much as they want and can earn, rather than the amount limited by the administration. In the long run, we will not be able to avoid a reform of retail prices, a change of the proportion between the prices for food, housing, transport and manufactured consumer goods. However, we can and must hold off on it now.

We must draw on the positive experience of Hungary and the clearly negative experience of Poland, as far as the price reform is concerned. We can also use China's experience where the issue has been treated very cautiously. Does it have to be that other countries' experience never teaches us anything? Are we doomed to eternally be engaged in improvisations, inevitably followed by undelayed hangovers?

Agricultural

Agriculture Expert Beletskiy Interviewed

AU1512151988 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 15 Dec 88 p 5

[Interview with Viktor Nikolayevich Beletskiy, "president of the USSR SOF-Interkontakt/Agroservice," by DIE WELT correspondent Helmut Hetzel in The Hague: "It Was Wrong To Force Our Socialism Upon Others"—date not given]

DIE WELT: In an interview with DIE WELT a couple of years ago you said: "I am in favor of making the wall even higher and thicker...."

Beletskiy: This was of course exaggerated. It was then that DIE WELT published an article that was very critical of me....

No, not higher or thicker. It is a border. What this border looks like depends on the relations between the neighbors.

DIE WELT: So you can imagine this border disappearing?

Beletskiy: I do not want to go even further into this problem. This is not my task. The better and the more normal relations between European neighbors are, the more normal the border will be. History is to decide what social system is better—the socialist or the capitalist one. We have our own opinion in this respect. You have another one. However, ideological controversies over this question cannot provide an answer. It was simply not right to accept only one model, to accept only the Russian model of socialism. Socialism must also have pluralism and different models, as in your system. What used to happen under Stalin, when socialism was forced upon others, was not the right way.

Incidentally, next year I am going to visit the FRG. I think that with Mr Kohl's visit to Moscow we have opened up a new page in our relations, the visit to Bonn by Gorbachev will mean a new chapter.

DIE WELT: What projects are you going to tackle?

Beletskiy: Many. First of all, in the agricultural and construction sector. Our strategy is to establish more joint ventures in the future, which is also profitable for our Western partners. Until now, there has been one disadvantage. It takes a very long time and requires large investment capital on the side of those Western partners who want to establish themselves in the USSR. However, once an agreement has been concluded, things work out all right. A second disadvantage of our system is its mania for gigantic projects. In the agricultural sector in particular, we would like to proceed along other lines now. In the future, we want to give smaller family enterprises a chance, in the food sector, as with meat, for example.

It is mainly in the FRG that we are looking for partners in this field. We would like to establish several hundred joint ventures. In addition, we want to send our people to the West, so that they can get acquainted with Western demands on quality.

DIE WELT: What other plans do you have?

Beletskiy: We want to build a few more big hotels in Moscow. We are ready to put large stretches of farmland at the disposal of our Western partners.

DIE WELT: You want to lease land?

Beletskiy: De facto, yes, but formally the matter looks a bit different. In Georgia one could quarry marble. Moreover, the largest deposits of mineral water are also there. I am going to establish a company for charcoal.

DIE WELT: The USSR has one major problem in cooperating with Western companies: The ruble is not convertible....

Beletskiy: We have not yet found a solution for this problem. We are discussing this question, but it is difficult to solve.... A kind of prefinancing will be the only possibility. We pay for the investments later with the goods that will be produced in a joint venture. This is the only practical way I can see for the foreseeable future.

DIE WELT: Do you think that the reform course that was initiated by Gorbachev will be successful at all?

Beletskiy: When all this first began, 3 years ago, the atmosphere was euphoric. However, in practice everything turns out to be more difficult than many of us though at the beginning. The bureaucracy is an obstacle. Nevertheless, most people are convinced that this is the right way. There can be no return, as with Khrushchev, for example. Social groups are to be given some influence, too. This kind of separation of powers, which is familiar to us as a consequence of the French Revolution, is probably the best thing that history has invented to date. This is the principle we would like to take over.

DIE WELT: Do you also want to take over the values that are connected with the French Revolution? A separation of powers in the USSR?

Not as a model, but as a basic idea. The party can no longer have everything in its hands. It is to deal with ideological-organizational matters and draw up the strategic line. Party and government have to be separated. Jurisdiction has to be made independent. It is impossible for the party secretary to tell the judge that he has to decide this way or that.

Agricultural Developments for 11-18 Dec

LD1912002888 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 11-18 December. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

11-14 December—No fileworthy items monitored.

15 December—Almost 650,000 hectares have been sown to winter wheat and barley in Uzbekistan. (0700)

16-18 December—No fileworthy items monitored.

Scientific

Further on Joint Soviet-French Space Flight

Cosmonauts Prepare for Landing

LD1912113588 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 19 TASS—The space flight of the Soviet-French crew on board the Mir orbital complex is coming to a close.

The cosmonauts conducted today the final part of experiments within the framework of a joint research program. Using stationary photo cameras, Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev took a series of photos of the areas in Armenia affected by the earthquake.

Preparations were started for the landing of the Soyuz TM-6 transport spacecraft which would take Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Jean-Loup Chretien to earth. The crew checked the functioning of on-board systems of the spacecraft and during the day they would pack in the landing vehicle materials on experiments conducted at the orbital complex.

According to the physician Valeriy Polyakov, all the cosmonauts are in good health and feel well.

The flight of the manned orbital complex is going on normally.

Landing Scheduled for 21 Dec

LD2012110388 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent reporting from the mission control centre:

The joint flight of the six cosmonauts on board the Mir orbital complex is drawing to an end. The program for Soviet-French research has been fully implemented. Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, and Jean-Loup Chretian are to return to earth at 9.45, Moscow time [0645 GMT], on December 21.

Today the crew are stowing magazines with cine and photographic films, magnetic tape recordings and spectrograms, containers with biological objects, and flight documentation into the descent module of the Soyuz TM-6 spacecship.

Under the plan for preparations for descent from orbit the cosmonauts will hold final training sessions with the use of the pneumatic vacuum Chibis and the universal physical training facility under the supervision of Doctor Valeriy Polyakov.

In the course of the day Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Kirkalev are to check the onboard systems on the Soyuz TM-7 spaceship before its December 22 undocking from the Kvant module and redocking with the transfer compartment of the Mir station.

The cosmonauts are feeling well The work in orbit is proceeding according to schedule.

Soviet, French Experts Discuss Mars Mission

LD1912175888 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenko:

The 1984 Martian expedition, which will mark the initial stage of the long-term Soviet Mars exploration program, envisages studies of the planet's surface from an orbital vehicle and landing on it a special balloon and several long-endurance research sondes. The 25th meeting of Soviet and French space experts, which is to wind up its work today, discussed the question of what scientific equipment the Martian mission should be provided with. French scientists plan to take an active part in the new project.

"Earlier we intended to include a 'Marsokhod' (Mars self-propelled ground vehicle) in the equipment of the 1994 mission. But then we arrived at the conclusion that it could be delivered to Mars only with the next expedition, scheduled for 1996, after we get exact telephotos of the planet's surface, taken from the American 'Mars-observer' (to be launched in 1992) and glean enough of our own experience", Professor Garriy Rogovskiy of the Babakin scientific testing centre stated. "A rock of only one metre in diameter is apt to reduce the Mars-landing capsule to smithereens. And the planet's surface is known to be strewn with rocks. This is why the capsule should first be steered into a zone of 10-20 kilometres in radius, and then, after coming down lower, it should carry out a manoeuvre guaranteeing safe touch-down."

"We have already agreed with French experts on the principal parameters of the balloon, which will be delivered on Mars in 1994", the leading Soviet balloon-sondes expert Doctor Vyacheslav Linkin said. "This transparent balloon will be filled with helium. During daytime it will be able to rise to a height of up to four kilometres and come down at night to explore the surface. To prevent the instrumentation gondola from knocking against the ground when landing, it will be provided with a guiderope. The gondola is expected to weigh 15 kilograms, and the guiderope—10 kilograms. The density of the Martian atmosphere is 150-fold rarer than on the earth. Therefore the balloon must be very big—about 5,000 cubic metres in volume and more than 25 metres in diameter.

The balloon will be able to take telephotographs of large territories with an exactitude of up to a few centimetres. This will allow for the selection of a safe place to land the Marsokhod, to carry out chemical analyses and electromagnetic soundings of Martian soil, to study the characteristics of Martian atmosphere. The balloon is expected to fly for 5-10 days, covering 100-200 kilometres a day.

Military

Second Aircraft Carrier To Join Northern Fleet

PM1912153888 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 14 Dec 88 p 4

[Olav Trygge Storvik report: "New Soviet Aircraft Carrier Will Be Permanently Stationed on Kola Peninsula"]

[Excerpt] The aircraft carrier "Baku," the Soviet Union's newest and most modern aircraft carrier, is now on its way northward along the Norwegian coast. The aircraft carrier is escorted by two destroyers and two frigates and will probably be permanently stationed with the Soviet Northern Fleet on the Kola Peninsula.

Hitherto the "Baku" has been part of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet, but has been operating in the Mediterranean for the last 6 months, the Defense High Command said. A short while ago the "Baku" left the Mediterranean through the Strait of Gibraltar and set a northerly course west of the British Isles. Before the aircraft carrier entered the Norwegian Sea it was joined by a Soviet Udaloy-class destroyer and a Krivak-class frigate which had sailed to Cuba in October. A Soviet tanker also joined the group, which was off Trondelag at midday yesterday.

The "Baku" will be the second aircraft carrier in the Soviet Northern Fleet on the Kola Peninsula. The aircraft carrier "Kiev" is already permanently stationed with the Northern Fleet. It will now be joined by the "Baku" and this will double Soviet aircraft carrier capacity in the Norwegian Sea. [passage omitted]

Veteran Calls for Access to Military Archives

PM1312164488 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 88 p 13

[Letter from Captain Im. Levin, retired: "Archive Secrets: An Open Letter to the USSR Defense Ministry"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

I am writing to you as a participant in the Great Patriotic War, a CPSU member since 1943, and a writer. The decision to make my appeal public is dictated by the fact that the problem affects the interests of a very wide range of people, war veterans included.

This is the problem.

Working on a book about my wartime friends, I felt an urgent need to consult the reserves of the USSR Defense Ministry Central Archives in Podolsk. There is currently no shortage of inspiring official statements in the mass media to the effect that all barriers have been removed and the boundaries dividing us from the documentary truth of history have been plowed up in the course of restructuring. Realizing, all the same, that it is necessary to have some kind of certificate in order to enter the archives, I sent a detailed written request to the Podolsk archives. About 6 weeks later I received a reply (incidentally, in the form of a splendid example of the ultimate in soulless bureaucracy, signed by deputy section chief Comrade Cherepanin). It emerged from the reply that I should apply to the archives of the rayon military commissariat at my place of residence for a permit.

At Frunzenskiy Rayon military commissariat in my home rayon of Moscow, I was greeted with the utmost friendliness by the department chief who, when I asked about the quickest way to obtain a permit, handed me 2 copies of a 4-page 24-point questionnaire (social origin, time spent in occupied territory, trips abroad, relatives abroad, list of immediate relatives, alive or dead...). "Fine," I said, "I'll fill it in right away, here." "That will be no use," the lieutenant colonel replied, "the questionnaires need a reference from your place of work, an autobiographical resume, and two photographs. Then we will send all these papers to the appropriate organs and wait for approval from there." "How long will it take?" I inquired. "At least 2 months, I can vouch for that. Or perhaps 6 months. There is no precise time scale." And, observing my condition, he shrugged sympathetically. "It's nothing to do with us. The defense minister's Order No. 225 of 1981 applies, and only the minister himself can revoke it." And I wondered, why does an order made when stagnation was at its height continue to operate calmly to this day, retarding glasnost and democratization?

And what kind of secrets and top secrets can there be today, nearly half a century later, about the war, secrets kept from the veterans of that war, whose names, incidentally, are stored in the Central Archives themselves? Kept, too, from any Soviet person who wants to learn about history.

That is why I am appealing to the Defense Ministry. Order No. 225 must be revoked immediately.

With sincere respect,

Im. Levin,

Captain, retired.